The MYSTERY of NAPLES

GRAHAM

Rev. John A. Lally

Bust of St. Januarius with Cope and Mitre.

THE MYSTERY OF NAPLES

(St. Januarius)

Rev. John A. Sally

BY

EDWARD P. GRAHAM

211.42
G76
or 270.05
J268

ILLUSTRATED

"Suffer me and I will speak and after, if you wish, laugh at my words."—Job, 21, 3.

Mira quæ patras, tua, Januari,
Civitas gaudens recolit: stupentes
Advenæ cernunt: resonantque totum
Nota per orbem.
—*Offic. prop. Ad Laudes.*

ALMA COLLEGE
270.05
LIBRARY
J268
Alma, California
J26

ST. LOUIS, MO., 1909
PUBLISHED BY B. HERDER
17 SOUTH BROADWAY

FREIBURG (BADEN)
B. HERDER

LONDON & EDINBURGH
SANDS & CO.

6450

NIHIL OBSTAT.

St. Louis, die 14 Mai, 1909
JOSEPHUS WENTKER,
Censor Librorum dep.

IMPRIMATUR.

St. Louis, die 15. Mai, 1909
✠JOANNES J. GLENNON,
Archiepiscopus
St. Ludovici.

Copyright, 1909, by Joseph Gummersbach.

—BECKTOLD—
PRINTING AND BOOK MFG. CO.
ST. LOUIS, MO.

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED
WITH HUMILITY
TO THE
GLORIOUS ST. JANUARIUS
AND
WITH RESPECT
TO HIS
FAITHFUL DEPUTIES
CLERICAL AND LAY
IN THE
SAINT'S BELOVED CITY
OF
NAPLES

PREFACE

"Si quid hoc in opero præclarum videbitur . . . . iis impertite quam merentur laudem." Bollandus — Acta SS. t. I p. xliv.

The writer, or rather compiler, of this little work heard in his boyhood days the strange story of the wonderful phenomena which the blood of the martyred Bishop St. Januarius exhibited, and often afterwards he dreamed of seeing it, but never seriously thought his dream would become a reality.

It is a good many years since he first read the words in which Mr. Samuel Langhorne Clemens gave his impression of the liquefaction and its alleged attendant circumstances, and since that day he has never gotten over the feeling of indignation which the author of "The Innocents Abroad" aroused in his soul. That the words were false he never doubted and Mark Twain a prevaricator: now he knows it.

When Mr. White's words were read the predominant feeling was one of wonder that any sane man would dare to write as he did. That the ex-university president might deny it to be a

miracle and seek some explanation could be easily understood, but that any man supposed to be educated would attempt to settle a question puzzling bright minds for centuries by a "no doubt" supposition, and then, regarding the matter as settled his own way, should proceed coolly and deliberately to charge a large number of estimable priests and honorable gentlemen with fraud and mendacity, that was the extreme; nay, neither human weakness nor human audacity seem equal to the task.

In Pagan times a ruler not only devastated an enemy's country, but often put all the inhabitants to death, simply because they were of a different race or belief from his own. Such a proceeding seems to us brutal and lawless beyond expression. Allowing for the softening of manners and kindlier sentiments which have sprung up since the introduction of Christianity, is not a wholesale accusation of conscious mendacity and fraud against a whole church nowadays just as brutal and as lawless in its way as a wholesale slaughter in days of long ago? A tyrant sentenced thousands, a writer condemns millions: justification of the tyrant was his will, of the writer his hasty opinion!

Mark Twain and Andrew White are here selected partly because their words stimulated the writer to investigate the "wonder" of Naples,

and partly because they are typical of two classes of writers, the flippant and the sciolistic. One gathers up eagerly and repeats heedlessly or maliciously every slur and sneer against Catholicity that comes in his way, and the result is that his book, where it touches on the Old Church, resembles the backstair gossip of petty minds: the other with a pretence of learning and a deceptive air of candor and judgment delivers oracles that betray more prejudice than understanding and more want of ballast than logic. Often has the writer sought a term or sentence to characterize such a book neatly and correctly, but in vain until he ran across the following quotation in *Lord Acton and His Circle* (p. LXVIII): "I have often thought of writing a history of one of our early rulers, based entirely on the words and testimonies of our ancient, i. e., medieval historians with references, etc., quite in the learned way, in which not a single statement should be true." All quite in the learned way with multitudinous references in which not a single deduction is really justified — there you have as well as a line can put it, a critique of Mr. White's too ambitious work.

The compiler searched many a ponderous volume and read many a forgotten pamphlet, and so accumulated quite a store of notes before he discovered that as far as the great bulk of the matter

was concerned, four authors could have supplied the necessary data. The work of Father Stilting the Bollandist, read at first hastily and mainly as a bibliographical guide, was read a second time with great care, as research had proved its thoroughness and completeness up to the date of its publication. Taglialatela's book came into his hands when his investigations were about over, and in it he found that most of the historical odds and ends which had consumed many hours, had been already gathered up very carefully. Bishop Lynch's admirable and keen summary of historical and scientific data down to 1870, was read after the appearance of the writer's article in the *American Catholic Quarterly* for October, 1905, and the writer found that he had followed much the same path as the Bishop, and had arrived at practically the same conclusions. The fourth author is Dr. Sperindeo, whose booklet contains the most extended scientific data concerning the phenomena. Yet withal he would not have attempted the work, relying on these four authors alone, though he found them trustworthy in their own special departments.

One thing the compiler thinks he may rely on and that is, That no one who takes the trouble to read the book will ever again mock at the simplicity of those who revere the Phials of St. Januarius, and another thing he hopes is, That

he has vindicated, even in the eyes of the thoughtless, the good name of the clergy and faithful of Naples.

The gaining of these two points would be indeed a great and ample reward for the time and labor spent on the work, but the most consoling thought in this connection is that he may have been enabled, though very slightly and indirectly, to have defended the good name of his Holy Mother the Church, to whose judgment he submits every line, and to whom is due and to whom he offers the poor tribute of his love and obedience.

As to the defects of the compilation they are many, but Cardinal Newman once wrote: "Nothing would be done at all, if a man waited until he could do it so well that no one could find fault with it."

E. P. G.

To Monsignor C. Taglialatela, the Rev. Professor Sperindeo, the publishers of the American Catholic Quarterly Review and of the Catholic World thanks are returned for permission to quote, and to the Rev. F. Ehrle, S.J., Librarian of the Vatican, and to the Benedictines of Monte Cassino, for courtesies received.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Gilt Bust of St. Januarius . . . . . *Frontispiece*

Marble Bust of St. Januarius 64

The Apse of the "Treasury" 126

The Reliquary with the Phials 135

Spectrum of Blood 236

Map of the District Around Naples 312

CONTENTS

PART FIRST

CHAPTER I.

PAGE

Naples, its Beauty and Attraction. The Liquefaction of the Blood of St. Januarius. Foes and Friends. A Request 1

CHAPTER II.

Who was St. Januarius? His Birthplace. His Martyrdom. Burial and Translation..... 18

CHAPTER III.

Authorities. Acts of Martyrs. Acts of the Saint. First Appearance of His Name. Martyrologies. Diaries. Authors..... 35

CHAPTER IV.

Honors Paid the Saint. Churches. Statues. Two Famous Chapels. Custodians of the Tesoro. Chief Feasts 53

CHAPTER V.

Time of the First Liquefaction — Proximate Date..... 79

CHAPTER VI.

Some Old Time Visitors and a Few Modern Ones.... 89

CHAPTER VII.

St. Januarius and the Flaming Mount..... 96

CHAPTER VIII.

PAGE

History of the Head. History of the Blood. Where and How They are Preserved..... 111

CHAPTER IX.

An Exposition in 1904. The Women Praying or Cursing? Presence of Heretics. Curious Action of the Blood. A Truthful Modern Historian..... 137

CHAPTER X.

A Private Exposition in 1696..... 154

CHAPTER XI.

Dumas' Little Tale. Is it a Prophetic Blood? Belief in the Miracle..... 159

PART SECOND

CHAPTER XII.

Opportunity of Observation. Appearance of the Blood. Usual Condition of Liquefaction. The Beginning of the Liquefaction. The Increase and Decrease of Volume. The Globo. Tables of Exposition..... 174

CHAPTER XIII.

The Illuminati..... 192

CHAPTER XIV.

Explanations and Solutions..... 196

CHAPTER XV.

PAGE

The Contents of the Phial. Under the Spectroscope. The Phial and the Thermometer. The Phial and the Point of Fusion. The Phial and the Scale. The Phial and Analysis..... 232

CHAPTER XVI.

Is the Liquefaction a Miracle? Possibility of Miracles. Hume and Miracles. Cessation of Miracles. The Utility of the Liquefaction. Hume's Test of a Miracle. Miracles and Modern Thought..... 268

CHAPTER XVII.

A Bird's Eye View of the Case. The Question Asked. 307

APPENDIX

The Vatican Acts of St. Januarius, with Notes. The Martyrology of Bede. Pozzuoli. The Solfatara. The Catacombs of Naples. Cardinal Newman and the Liquefaction. John the Deacon. Liquefying Bloods. Prayers said at the Expositions. List of Patron Saints. The Stone in the Church at the Solfatara. 313

The Mystery of Naples

PART I

CHAPTER I

"Look upon Sion, the city of our solemnities."—Isaias, 33, 20.

NAPLES, ITS BEAUTY AND ATTRACTION — THE LIQUEFACTION OF THE BLOOD OF ST. JANUARIUS — FOES AND FRIENDS — A REQUEST

Naples is well known throughout the world for three reasons: the beauty of its site, its proximity to Mt. Vesuvius and the Blood of St. Januarius. The beauty of the city is due to nature and art, its story is imprinted upon the popular mind by its sufferings from its fiery neighbor, and the miracle of the blood of its great patron saint links the city in a special manner with the supernatural and the Providence of God, so that from many points of view it is one of those places which claim and obtain a large share of the world's attention. Apart even from these striking causes, Naples is a city most interesting in itself, in its extremely varied and pic-

turesque political history, in the number of its learned men, the personality and peculiarity of its population, its grim old castles, its splendid churches and chapels, over three hundred in number, its university and schools, its numerous asylums and vast hospitals, its great museum and famous aquarium. Here Virgil wrote his Georgics and lies buried, and Thomas Aquinas studied and later on taught. The "Athens of Italy," it has been frequented for ages and ages by multitudes bent on pleasure or on instruction, so that if it deserved to be called "otiosa Neapolis" by Horace, it also merited to be styled "docta Parthenope" by Martial. No one remains long in Naples without growing to like the place and its courteous, good-natured inhabitants, and this in spite of some very narrow and disagreeable streets as bad as any to be found in other cities, and of many beggings, impositions smaller than elsewhere and *Lazzaroni*.

Poets, writers and artists have often made the beauty of the Bay of Naples their theme. It really defies description. It must not only be seen, but be gazed at for months in all kinds of weather and from a hundred different points to enable one to appreciate fairly well its ever charming and seductive loveliness. Seen under an April shower, rain and sunshine contending for the mastery, the wind gently blowing the dark

water-laden clouds over the broad blue surface of the bay, which is alternately in shadow or light, while the sun brings out vividly and brings nearer the distant mountains and islands gleaming brightly through the glistening broken crystal stalks formed by the straight falling drops, Naples reveals a new aspect of beauty unseen when the noonday sun pours down from a clear sky his burning rays. But it is utterly beyond our power to do justice to this rich and cultured old city of Parthenope and its marvellous environs, this *fragmentum de coelo delapsum* in Mabillon's words,[1] this portion of heaven fallen to earth, where blooms, sang Virgilius Maro two thousand years ago, *ver adsiduum atque alienis mensibus aestas,*[2] where reigns perpetual spring and summer comes in winter months; so we will transcribe instead a page written half a century ago by an American author in praise of Naples and that Bay, still to us, notwithstanding the shock of astonishment felt when first the beauty of the Golden Horn of Constantinople unfolded itself before our eyes, the most beautiful and captivating view along the Mediterranean shores.

[1] Sannazzaro, "The Christian Virgil," said of the Mergellina, a beautiful villa and estate on the Bay, that it was "Un pezzo di cielo caduto in terra," a scrap of heaven fallen on earth. *Naples Past and Present,* Arthur H. Norway, Vol. I., p. 120. Certainly the Mergellina for him fell from above as Frederick III. gave it to him.

[2] *Georgics,* Lib. 2, 149.

"The beauty of Naples and its environs can as little be described as exaggerated. The extreme points of the two projecting arms which enclose the bay on the northwest and southeast are about twenty miles distant from each other in a right line. They are similar in their shape and character, but by no means identical. The southern promontory stretches farther out to sea; but the balance is restored by the island of Ischia on the north, which is much larger and more distant from the land than its southern sister Capri. The curve of the gulf lying between them is not regular, but the line of the coast makes nearly a right angle at Naples and also at Castellamare; the intervening space being nearly straight.

"Vesuvius occupies a point about half way between the projecting points. The whole space is crowded with human life, and comprises within itself nearly every form of beauty into which earth and water can be moulded. On one side, from a liquid plain of the most dazzling blue, a range of mountains, the peaks of which are for many months covered with snow, rise into the air. Forests of oak and chestnut encircle them midway. Between them and the sea there is hardly a terrace of level land, and the cliffs that line that tideless shore are often crowned and draped with luxuriant vegetation.

"In another direction, the primitive features are less grand; but the action of volcanic agencies has given great variety of surface within a small compass. Numberless points are crowned with villas, monasteries, and houses, linked together by a glowing succession of orange groves, vineyards, orchards and gardens. Over all the unrivalled scene, Vesuvius towers and reigns; forming the point of convergence in which all

the lines of beauty and grandeur meet. I have never seen a mountain that so impresses the mind as this. Although not quite four thousand feet high, it produces all the effect of a much greater elevation, because its whole bulk, from the level of the sea to its summit, is seen at a glance.

"Besides the peculiar interest which belongs to it as a volcano, it is remarkable for its flowing and graceful outline, and the symmetrical regularity of its shape. A painter could nowhere find a better model from which to draw an ideal mountain. But when to this merely lineal beauty, we add the mysterious and awful power of which its smoke and fire are symbols, and those fearful energies of destruction which the imagination magnifies at will, it becomes a feature in the landscape, which, considering its position and proximities, has no parallel on the globe.

"It would seem as if volcanic agency were necessary to crown the earth with its most impressive loveliness and grandeur, just as a human face never reveals all its beauty till passion burns in the eye and trembles on the lip. The action of fire alone heaves up those sheer walls and notched battlements of rock, and sets the mountain lake in those deep and wooded sockets, by which the most expressive landscapes are formed, and through which great effects are produced without the aid of great space. Water shapes and smooths the earth into something like a Grecian regularity of outline, but fire sharpens and points it after Gothic type.

"The whole line of coast from Pozzuoli to Sorrento repeats and renews the same curves and waves of beauty. The land is rounded, scooped and hollowed, holding out jutting promontories and projections, like arms of invitation, to the sea.

"No rigid lines of defence are thrown up; no castellated masses of granite stand along the coast like line-of-battle ships drawn up for an engagement; nowhere is an expression of defiance stamped upon the scene.

"Along the rocky and iron-bound shores of New England, the junction of the sea and the land is like the meeting of enemies under a flag of truce; even the sunshine and the calm speak of conflicts past and to come. Upon the practical and unromantic coast of England, their meeting is like that of men of business who have come together to talk over a bargain. But in the Bay of Naples, the meeting of the sea and the land is like the embrace of long-parted lovers. The earth is a beautiful and impassioned Hero, and the waves lie upon her bosom like the dripping locks of Leander.

"Naples itself is only the core and nucleus of this fertile and populous shore, which everywhere swarms with life and glitters with human habitations. In respect to situation, the cities of Naples and Edinburg have an element in common; or rather, they leave a similar impression upon the observer's mind. In both, the town, the buildings, the work of man's hands, are subordinate to the grand and commanding features of nature around and above them. This is never the case with a city standing upon a plain.

"In Edinburg, the houses look, in comparison with the mountain ridges near them, like a handful of toys upon a giant's lap. Naples is not only stretched along a winding coast, but scattered over the terraces and spurs of a range of semi-circular hills; and is brought ino immediate proximity with commanding

heights and a grand expanse of water. Thus, when it is seen from the sea which is the finest point of view — the magnificent lines and sweeps of the landscape fairly eat up the city itself; and its white buildings look like rows of China cups and saucers ranged along the shelves of a crescent shaped closet. But though it is easy to tell what Naples suggests, it is not easy to tell what it is. What words can analyze and take to pieces the parts and details of this matchless panorama, or unravel that magic web of beauty into which palaces, villas, forests, gardens, vineyards, the mountain and the sea are woven?

"What pen can paint the soft curves, the gentle undulations, the flowing outlines, the craggy steeps, and the far-seen heights, which, in their combinations, are so full of grace, and at the same time, expression? Words here are imperfect instruments, and must yield their place to the pencil and the graver. But no canvas can produce the light and color which play around this enchanting region.

"No skill can catch the changing hues of the distant mountains, the starpoints of the playing waves, the films of purple and green which spread themselves over the calm waters, the sunsets of gold and orange, and the aerial veils of rose and amethyst which drop upon the hills from the skies of morning and evening.

"The author of the book of Ecclesiasticus seems to have described Naples, when he speaks of 'the pride of the height, the clear firmament, the beauty of heaven, with his glorious show.'

"'See Naples and then die,' is a well-known Italian saying; but it should read, 'See Naples and then live.' One glance at such a scene stamps upon the memory

an image, which, forever after, gives a new value to life." [3]

The great attraction in the supernatural order which Naples has for many travellers is the strange transformation which the blood of St. Januarius undergoes. In a small antique crystal phial there is contained some of the blood of this saint who was martyred in the tenth or last and fiercest persecution of the Christians, and this blood, which to all appearance is as hard as a stone, when brought in sight of the martyr's head, usually becomes suddenly liquid and bright in color as if it had just flowed from his veins. This marvellous change is known as the Liquefaction of the Blood of St. Januarius. When out of sight of the head it hardens again just as suddenly.

Like many other things in this world before and after Our Lord's time, this wonder of St. Januarius has been a sign of contradiction.[4] In the majority of those who have seen it, arose feelings of admiration, mingled with awe and thanks to God, Who still speaks in ways won-

[3] *Six Months in Italy* by George Stillman Hillard, Vol. II., p. 106–110. Goethe seemed to lose his usual fluency when writing of Naples. *"Man sage, erzähle, male, was man will, hier ist mehr als Alles,"* and he adds that he is "making great, great eyes." Quoted in Woldemar Kaden's *Italien,* p. 246.

[4] ". . . and for a sign which shall be contradicted." St. Luke 2. 34.

drous and not our ways and beyond our thoughts: but some treated it with coldness and derision, and could see nothing in it to be reverenced or even to be regarded with amazement. They failed to see that from no matter what standpoint it may be considered, it remains a marvel. Articles and pamphlets without number and even many stately volumes have been written in favor of the Saint and his mystifying never-dying blood, but many a sneering paragraph and off-hand chapter has been penned representing the whole thing as an imposture and something so childish as to deserve only contempt. Men of science have deemed the matter worthy of careful observation and study, and others of no mean notoriety have dismissed it as nonsense.

As a sample of the off-hand contemptuous and even malignant class of writers, men generally of wonderful self-assurance, complacent prejudice, men who knew it all beforehand, let us quote Mark Twain.

We do this with some pain, because he is now an older and presumably a wiser man, and yet to our knowledge he has never found time or perhaps never felt any inclination to correct the following shameful and libellous paragraph taken from one of his earlier and oft-printed books, a book that has done much to destroy that rever-

ence which all cultivated and noble minds feel for things hallowed by history and religious thought. We do not deny his literary skill and ability to amuse, but he has greatly misused both the one and the other. It may be remembered in his favor that he wrote this false and offensive passage when fresh and verdant and correspondingly all-knowing:

"In the city of Naples they believe in and support one of the wretchedest of all the religious impostures one can find in Italy — the miraculous liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. Twice a year the priests assemble all the people at the Cathedral and get out this phial of clotted blood and let them see it slowly dissolve and become liquid; and every day for eight days this dismal farce is repeated, while the priests go among the crowd and collect money for the exhibition. The first day the blood liquefies in forty-seven minutes — the church is full then, and time must be allowed the collectors to get around; after that it liquefies a little quicker and a little quicker every day as the houses grow smaller, till on the eighth day, with only a few dozen present to see the miracle, it liquefies in four minutes." [5]

To judge from the details given in the above shameless paragraph, Mark Twain had observed carefully and as an honest man had studied the subject conscientiously, and then filled with information and *bona fide* indignation he deliber-

[5] *The Innocents Abroad,* Chap. xxix.

ately charged the venerable clergy and civic fathers (the civil and religious authorities arrange the celebrations) of one of the leading cities of Europe with a wretched imposture done in the name of religion, and to mark his abhorrence of the whole performance and to incite in his numerous readers the same feeling, he uses language the most insinuating and insulting at his fertile command. "It liquefies a little quicker and a little quicker every day," "as the houses grow smaller," "dismal farce," "collect money for the exhibition." Our opinion is that Mark Twain never saw it at all, but with the presumption born to inexperience and ignorance, crossed with contempt for all things Catholic, the Young Westerner, heedless of where he trod, forgetful of fair play and not bothered with overmuch conscience, asked a few questions of persons as well educated as himself, and then printed as stingly as he could his opinion on a subject which has claimed at least the respectful attention of thousands better informed, less rash, less forgetful of "the more things in heaven and earth," and more considerate about the command of not bearing false witness than Mark Twain. Of course, a touch of bigotry in an American book of those days would help its sale, and he has told us since that then he needed the money.

Another literary star of a very different magnitude, "le savant et sage" Addison as he is styled by a French admirer, testified:

"I had twice an opportunity of seeing the operation of this pretended miracle, and must confess I think it is so far from being a real miracle that I look upon it as one of the most bungling tricks I ever saw, yet it is this that makes as great a noise as any in the Roman Church and that Monsieur Pascal has hinted at among the rest in his marks of the true religion." [6]

Addison says he saw it and we are willing to believe him to have been a spectator. That he studied the subject we doubt, and when he calls it a "bungling trick," we are simply astonished and the cause of our astonishment will appear later.

Naturally enough Voltaire, who laughed at all things serious and at things trifling in themselves when connected with religion, regarded it as a false miracle and a useless prodigy. He modified the word "useless," however, by adding more sarcastically perhaps than earnestly, that it had a good side in so far as it seemed to keep those excitable people, the Neapolitans, in some restraint since they saw a visible sign of their being under the hand of the Divinity.[7] The mo-

[6] *Book of Travels Through Several Parts of Italy,* etc. London, 1700.

[7] *Essai sur les Mœurs de l'Italie,* Chap. 183. Beuchot's remarks is in a note to this chapter. Ed. 1829.

rality of such a way of acting did not trouble him. Monsieur Beuchot, who edited an edition of Voltaire, was much offended at his careless indifference and added a note declaring sternly that such superstitions were not as "indifferent" to him as to M. Voltaire, and Why? "Because the charlatan priest who worked the fraud can excite at pleasure seditions among the people and so place the government of Naples in subjection to the clergy." How accurate his knowledge of the conditions under which the miracle is awaited and how solicitous for good government was our friend Beuchot!

Voltaire was a great romancer though more or less an unavowed one. It is well then to introduce a Simon-pure romancer and a past master in the art. Everything that came along was grist to his mill and as he travelled in Italy he could not fail to visit Naples and could not fail to "make copy" from such an unusual event as a miracle. Consequently we find recounted in a style not surpassed by *Les Trois Mousquetaires* in interest, vivacity and we may add inaccuracy, how the miracle was worked to order *by command* of the French General Championet in 1799.[8] We will let Dumas père alone for the moment as perforce we shall be compelled to speak of him again. Another witness, Andrew

[8] *Corricolo,* Paris, 1865, Vol. I., p. 267.

D. White, ex-ambassador to Germany, ex-president of a university, cast his eagle eye upon it and solved it at a glance. Everything was plain to him. Others might hesitate and falter, but not he. He rushed in and gave a solution so ridiculous that his friends may well blush for his crude simplicity and astounding credulity. We relegate his decision to the place where it belongs.[9]

We will close temporarily the list of witnesses against the miracle. Further on others must be introduced but this array is not so small or in the eyes of some not so mediocre. Voltaire a genius in his way, Dumas a famous novelist, Addison a name honored in literature, Mark Twain so well known, supposedly an American gentleman and as such an honorable man, and Andrew D. White not ostensibly a writer of romance,— all honorable men if you will and all bear witness that the whole thing is a humbug. They have seen, examined and condemned. What remains to be said? We admit at the very start that none of these keen gentlemen were investigators or of a scientific turn of mind.

It is true that Baronius the world-famed annalist,[10] Papebrock a Bollandist,[11] Vico the

[9] *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology,* Vol. II., p. 30.

[10] In his *Annales* at the year 305.

[11] *Acta Sanctorum* under date as appendix to Sept. 19. Papebroch and Henschius were sent to Italy in search of

jurist whose statues stand in Naples,[12] Sir Humphrey Davy reputed a chemist,[13] Hurter the historian of Innocent III,[14] Fergola the mathematician,[15] Perrone the theologian,[16] Waterton the English naturalist and traveller,[17] Punzo a scientist,[18] Stoppani a geologist,[19] Sperindeo a professor of physics, etc., examined the phenomenon and could not account for it, as easily as the distinguished literary men enumerated above.[20]

material for their great work. See Martii, T. I., p. xxxiii.

[12] *Il Miracolo di S. Gennaro,* 3 edit. Naples, 1903, p. 21, by Professor Sperindeo.

[13] See Dr. Weedall's letters from Naples to *The Catholic Mag. and Rev.* Birmingham, Eng. 1831–32. They are very interesting and convincing, and were published in Italian at Naples in 1836, by Antonio de Luca. In *Davy's Life and Works,* 9 Vols. and 2 Vols. edited by his brother, no mention of it occurs. Anyone acquainted with the work will not wonder at the omission. It is said he requested permission to analyse it and also that he had a leaning towards the miracle.

[14] *Geburt und Wiedergeburt,* 1846, Vol. II., p. 550.

[15] *Teorica de' Miracoli esposta* and *Un discorso Apologetico sul Miracolo di S. G. Naples,* 1839. One of the deepest thinkers and most distinguished scholars of Europe, in Hurter's judgment.

[16] *Prælectiones Theologicæ,* Vol. 4, p. 104, note. Ed. Paris, 1874.

[17] *Le Catholique,* 2nde no., de Janvier, 1845: in Postel, p. 290.

[18] Dr. Pietro Punzo-*Indagini ed Osservazioni sull Teca di S. G.,* 1880.

[19] *Memorie Storico-Critiche del Culto e del Sangue di S. Gennaro,* by C. Taglialatela, Naples, 1893, p. 169.

[20] Lalande is sometimes quoted as giving testimony to this wonder because he wrote in his *Voyage d'un Français en Italie,* 1766, something to the effect that it was a constant object of devotion and of admiration. When in Italy he was not quite such an atheist as he afterwards

It is true that though "a bungling trick" it has never been successfully imitated, and for "a dismal farce" it has had an exceedingly long and popular run. It is true that if it be an imposture not one eye-witness, *pace* the honorable men already alluded to, has been able to detect and expose it. It is true also that if it be an imposture, all the archbishops and clergy of Naples for centuries have been rogues, and the Italian Church and to a certain extent implicitly the whole Catholic Church has tolerated for ages this supposed outrage to God and humanity. Not one honest man to be found among them, not a single one to rise up, expose and denounce the fraud, and not even a renegade! No, not even one when the French revolutionists had possession of the city and everything was at their mercy. No exposure! It certainly appears whether viewed in a friendly or unfriendly aspect an interesting question, and as the writer happened to be in Naples in the spring of 1904, he determined to linger there long enough to see with his own eyes the miracle of St. Januarius, to hear and to read what he could concerning the saint who, dead, speaketh and concerning his

pretended to become when to attract attention which was the breath of his nostrils he used to sign himself, "Lalande, Dean of Atheists." To attain the same end he used to eat spiders in company. Veuillot's *Melanges*, 2nd series, Vol. I., p. 104. Some modern authors are not averse to odd advertising methods.

mysterious blood which seems to refuse to submit to the empire of death and the rule of decay.

"*Ohne Glauben und ohne Unglauben,*" neither believing nor unbelieving, like Hurter, but in a decidedly critical frame of mind, he watched the "performance," made some enquiries, read what books time permitted him in Naples, and brief stays in Rome, London and Paris, for the literature on the subject is everywhere, took some notes, and now the reader can peruse if he so will the condensed results and act as a judge of appeal. All that the author asks, and he hopes at this day it is a superfluous asking, is that judgment be suspended until the case has been completely stated and the request for a decision presented. It is not pretended that an exhaustive treatment has been given here to any of the many questions that arise in connection with a subject, historical and scientific at the same time, but it is hoped that the majority of the queries likely to spring up in the mind of an intelligent person regarding the saint and his sphinx-like blood will be found answered in a manner satisfactory to any but specialists and fully enough to enable all to form well-grounded conclusions.

CHAPTER II

"Though in the sight of men they suffered torments, their hope is full of immortality."—Wis. 3, 4.

WHO WAS ST. JANUARIUS — HIS BIRTHPLACE, MARTYRDOM, BURIAL AND TRANSLATIONS

St. Januarius was not bishop of Naples as many think but of Benevento, a city of about twenty-five thousand inhabitants, lying to the north-east of Naples and distant about thirty-five miles as the crow flies but sixty as the locomotive goes winding and mounting through the intervening hilly district. The year of his birth is not known with certainty. That he was at least comparatively young when he died popular tradition has always asserted, representing him in the early bloom of his manhood, and appealing for support to some statues of a very respectable antiquity. His mother died a few days before his martyrdom and no mention is made of old age on her part. The saint was probably of noble birth as the address of his judge would go to show: *Audiens opinionem generis tui,* hearing the report of your noble extraction. The name Januarius was quite a wide-spread one in

the early centuries, something like the Irish or Scotch clan names as O'Donnell, McGregor.

The name alone, however, would not be proof of nobility, as freedmen often took the names of their former masters. The other names of the saint are not known with certainty. There are over seventy under the name Januarius in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography,* many of whom lived in the first centuries and out of this septuagint there are actually over fifty bishops, thirteen or more of whom were Donatists. Eleven of the name rank as martyrs or saints.

(A Greek manuscript of little or no authenticity informs us that his father was P. Stephanus Januarius, a rich magistrate of Naples, and Teonora Amata his mother, and that he was baptized Publius Faustus by St. Eusebius, bishop of Naples. After the death of his father he divided his immense possessions between the Church and the poor and having been nominated while priest by the Christians of Benevento, he went to Rome and was there consecrated bishop of Benevento, on Dec. 25, 302, by St. Marcellinus, Pope.)

Until about the year 1632 there had been practically no popular controversy over the place of his nativity. Naples had enjoyed that pre-eminence for thirteen hundred years. A Sicilian poet, Fra Bernardino, had indeed around 1497 uttered a note of discord but it was not sufficiently

loud to disturb the peace of the Neapolitans; and some authors a few decades later had ventured to dispute their claim, but it was only in that year that the question attracted great attention, because, as Carracioli writes, *vir quidam religiosus,* a certain religious dared to affirm right in Naples itself while preaching to a large crowd that the native city of their great patron saint was Benevento, and at the same time an anonymous pamphlet was put in circulation in support of his statement. This bold assertion aroused murmurs and Carracioli, as he informs us, was moved like many another author by his friends to publish a book on the subject, which fairly killed the doubt if it did not succeed in burying it.[1]

[1] *Antonii Caraccioli Cler. Regularis Historica Demonstratio quod Sti Januarii Patria Neapolis fuit. Adversus assertiones Anonymi Beneventani.* Napoli, 1634.

Under a medallion of the saint on the title page stands:

Ille ego Benuenti Præsul. testisq; Supremi
Numinis: ille unus, qui Orbi CRUORE loquor.
Parthenope me cara parẽs genuitq; aluitq;
Hanc sibi nunc prolem non sinet illa rapi.

In his sentences there is a certain disdain of his adversaries and a palpable touch of grimness as he writes: "Nam mihi significatum est, virum quendam religiosum in principe Urbis Templo, coram conferta auditorum multitudine affirmasse, D. Januarii patriam Beneventum fuisse. Quæ profecto acerba, et auribus molestissima, ἀνιστορησία, auditorum fremitum merito excitavit et paulo post amicorum hortatio me permovit ut furculum istum a majore planta divellerem." This latter phrase is not of

He excused the preacher as having been misled by Paolo Regio, who in a work of his claimed St. Januarius for Benevento.[2] David Romano, another author, adhered to this opinion heretical to the Neapolitans and these two were to Carracioli the *puppis et prora,* the head and tail of the Beneventian party.[3] As for Paolo Regio or as we would call him, Paul Royal, he esteemed his work lightly, declaring he was a writer for insignificant people and only "royal" in name but in all things else plebeian in talent and style, a judgment concurred in by others, as far as letters were concerned.

The champions for Benevento, who certainly had some grounds for their side, argued that St. Januarius was a citizen because cities elected only such for bishops. To this Carracioli replied that Benevento like many other cities had had bishops who were not citizens, such as Samnites, Etruscans, Latins and even some from outside the country as Greeks, etc. St. Januarius II., bishop of Benevento in 347, was from Africa. St. Paulinus of Nola in Italy was a Frenchman.

such easy Latinity as it may seem. This work was published in Italian in 1637, with a refutation of arguments in favor of Benevento drawn from an old inscription discovered at Benevento. The old inscription is of no historical importance.

[2] *Le Vite de' Sette Santi protettori di Napoli,* Naples, reprint, 1579.

[3] *De Septem Sanctis patroni urbis Neapolitanæ,* 1571.

The house of the Saint's mother was still standing at Benevento when her son was bishop, it was argued. It might have been the house of St. Januarius II. of the same city, was the answer. And why, if it was in any way connected with the great patron of Naples, was it not turned into a church as was usual in those days?

The claim that tradition at Benevento was in its favor received for answer that a tradition which is constant and continued through the ages is good and of value but a tradition is bad when it lies hidden, unnoticed by historians either by assent or dissent. Writing moreover is a seal of truth but there is no document in his opponent's favor. The saint is mentioned frequently but no one questions his native city. Sermons of a great age tell of his being bishop of Benevento but never that it was his *patria.*

Carracioli continues: the writer who recounts the translation of the body of St. Januarius from Naples to Benevento about 817 by Duke Sico of that city omits the citizenship part, though expressly declaring Sico's joy at bringing back their father to his flock; and this omission is against their claim according to the legal saying, *qui de uno dicit de alio negare videtur,* to speak of one thing and to leave out the other is regarded as denying the latter. Here the Beneventians could come back at him, that it would be superfluous

to say "citizen," since he was that and all knew it, and they get the obvious answer that it was equally superfluous to say "father," and moreover, and the point is well taken, whenever it is a question of those who were martyred with St. Januarius, their citizenship though well known is always given.

He also cites "acts collected by deacons and subdeacons and written out by the notaries of the Church according to the old law of the Supreme Pontiffs," and these relate that after the martyrdom of the saints their bodies were guarded by their fellow-citizens while waiting a chance to convey them later to their own cities.

These acts, it may be remarked, do not say directly "fellow-citizens," but the context shows plainly they were. Two old Neapolitan calendars written about the year 1,000 are appealed to by this earnest pleader, where under date Sept. 19, is read

> Januarii Episc[i] Neapolitani
> Januarii Neap. Epis. et Mart.

and every one knows that Naples never had a bishop of that name: the Neapolitan bishop Januarius, noted as being present at the Conciliabulum of Carthage, was of Naples, Africa. Neither, we may add, does history recognize him as a saint. Another document, an old *officium* of

the saint from Benevento itself, did not escape his notice and this commemorates the extinction of an eruption of Mt. Vesuvius through the saint's aid, " that he might show himself to be, as he had promised, the liberator of his native place."

Carracioli seems to have had the best of the dispute and the Bollandists take his side. The strongest argument undoubtedly in favor of Naples is the fact, as R. M. Coppola points out, that the Neapolitans claimed and obtained without any opposition the body of the bishop of Benevento, while at the same time there were present members of his flock who carried the remains of two of his subjects and fellow-martyrs to Benevento, their native city. Why should they let the holy bishop's relics go to Naples? [4]

The contest continued for a long time without developing any new point of weight for either side and at present with Parthenope rests the victory.[5]

HIS MARTYRDOM.

In 303, Diocletian, while in Nicomedia, issued an edict against the Christians and Maximinian

[4] *Memorie sui Fatti della Vita-di S. Gennaro,* by R. M. Coppola, Naples, 1857.

[5] The chief writers who contended for Benevento were Bilotta (1636), Crisconi (1698), John de Nicastro (1710), John de Vita (1754), and the leading champions for Naples were Tutini (1633), Caracciolo (1634, 7 and 1645), Girolamo a S. Anna (1707), Falcone (1713), and Sabbatinus (1747). The dates are the years of publication.

followed suit. Aulus Timotheus, appointed governor of Campania in succession to Dracontius in August, 305, came to Nola determined to persecute this *genus hominum superstitionis novae et maleficae,* class of men of a new and criminal superstition, to the utmost, and our saint, being conspicuous by his position and his intrepid assistance to the imprisoned faithful, among them his friend Sosius, was soon seized and brought before Timotheus at Nola, who declared he had heard the name of his family and exhorted him to sacrifice to the gods, threatening in case of refusal the cruelest tortures. In vain he raged and in vain he tortured. Cast into a fiery furnace, the bishop came forth unhurt. Then he was racked and finally along with Festus his deacon and Desiderius his lector, both of Benevento, they were driven before the chariot of their judge to Pozzuoli and here they were put into a prison in which were the above mentioned Sosius of Misenum, Proculus a deacon of Pozzuoli and two laymen, Eutyches and Acutius, all alike condemned *ad bestias.*

Next day they were exposed in the amphitheatre but the wild animals forgot their ferocity and lay at the feet of the martyrs. Attributing this as usual to magic, Timotheus sentenced them to the axe and the story runs that he was im-

mediately struck blind, and so remained until Januarius by his prayers restored his sight.

This miracle converted many of the bystanders but their conversion alarmed the tyrant, fearful of losing the Emperor's favor, and he ungratefully ordered them to be beheaded.[6] They were led to the Solfatara and there gave their lives for their faith in the crucified God. Some acts state that on the same day the cruel judge Timotheus suffered fearful torments and cried again and again: "O miserable me, how I am tormented on account of that servant of God, Januarius!" and soon died. There is doubtless much of the "luxuriant medieval vegetation" in the acts of this saint but it is sufficient for our purpose to point out that on good historic grounds it can be accepted as a fact that St. Januarius, Bishop of Benevento, was put to death as a Christian at the Solfatara about the year 305.[7]

As there is some disagreement among the martyrologies as to the month in which the saint suffered, his biographers differ, but September 19 is commonly accepted as the correct date, though April 21 is not without defenders. One objection arises in this way. Many of the acts say, *tem-*

[6] *Roman Breviary,* June 15, records similar ingratitude shown to St. Vitus by Diocletian.

[7] Taken mainly from the *Roman Breviary,* Sept. 19. The acts are given in the appendix.

poribus Diocletiani imperatoris, when Diocletian was emperor, but he was not reigning in September, 305, having resigned in May of the same year; how then could the saint have suffered under him in September? It is nothing unusual, however, for a persecution commenced under one emperor to continue to be so called even when that ruler is no longer in authority. There is an example in Eusebius who having distinctly mentioned his retirement goes on to relate the death of a martyr in the third year of the persecution of Diocletian though it really occurred under Galerius, who indeed had instigated this persecution known as the tenth general one.[8]

In old calendars the day of death is often styled *dies natalitius,* birthday, or the day on which the saint was born into eternal life.

BURIAL AND TRANSLATIONS.

He was buried not far from the scene of the conflict, between the Solfatara and the sea, on ground then called Marcian's farm, where now stands a church in the saint's name and a convent inhabited by Capuchins. There was an opinion broached by Sabbatinus that his first resting-place was right across the Bay near Nocera, a town much nearer Salerno than Naples. He was led to form this conclusion because there was land

[8] *De Mart. Pal.* C. IV.

there called Marcian's and later upon it stood a monastery of Benedictines; whereas no land in the vicinity of the Solfatara was ever so called as far as investigators could discover in his time. Since then it has been proved that a property in the vicinity of Pozzuoli bore that name anciently and this discovery, along with the extreme improbability that his friends would carry the body such a distance under the trying circumstances in which they were placed, has caused this opinion to be entirely abandoned.

Whether all the martyrs were buried together in one grave is not known with certainty though it is much more likely that they were; and this view is supported by many acts, which state that the Christians of different cities were guarding the bodies that they might take them away secretly at night to their own cities, and that the bodies of the saints lay at the Solfatara where afterwards a suitable church was built in honor of St. Januarius.

Afterwards when peace was restored to the Church the saint's body was solemnly transferred to a cemetery in the neighborhood of Naples, but when precisely this removal was made is not known and in consequence there have been endless disputes on the subject.[9] One opinion will be mentioned to reject it, not that it has no

[9] A portion of the inscription placed at the tomb of

probability but as lacking in documentary witnesses. It puts this first translation under a bishop Cosmas or Zosimus, before the year 325, maintaining that since the acts say, *Postea quieto jam tempore,* afterwards when the times were peaceable, they imply that, when peace came or at least very soon after, the body was transferred, and that it is unlikely that the Neapolitans would delay so long before giving the saint a more becoming sepulchre, and moreover the Greek Legend is for this date. The second opinion stands for the pastorship of St. Severo, bishop of Naples about the end of the fourth century. It depends mainly upon the statement in his life which tells us that he placed with his own hands the holy remains of his martyred predecessor in the church outside the walls in which it *now* rests and that he built four churches, one of which is this same church bearing the name St. Januarius. "Now" refers to the time when this life of St. Severo was written or copied, and it may date as far back as the seventh or even the sixth century and we know it was written before the second trans-

St. Januarius in the Catacombs is given by Pellicia, *De Christ, Eccl. Politia,* Vol. 3, p. 184.

. . . NIS IANVARI MARTYR . . .
. . . S AETERNO FLORE
N.

and a small flower was sculptured beneath it. Unfortunately even this much of it is no longer in existence, only a piece with the words, *martyr* and *flore.*

lation of the saint's body on account of the presence of that same "now."

The third opinion prefers the time of Bishop John I. of Naples, about the beginning of the fifth century. Upon what testimony does it rest? Upon a line written by John the Deacon in his Chronicle, who tells us that, in that oratory, where with his own hands he is said to have placed the Blessed Martyr Januarius borne hither from the Marcian property, Bishop John himself lies buried on the right hand side. Which of these two opinions is the more probable? The first is to be preferred by all means because the testimony in the life of St. Severo is earlier and clearer than the words of John the Deacon, who has "he is said to have placed." The two, however, can be easily reconciled and without any violence to the text of either. Both documents admit that St. Severo built a church in honor of St. Januarius, so that it is altogether likely that he also transferred his remains, especially as it so stated, and there is nothing to hinder the belief that St. John I. assisted at the removal either as deacon or as priest.[10]

[10] Tutini (1633), Caracciolo (1645), the Bollandists, etc. are in favor of the second opinion and its reconciliation with the third: A. N. Rossi (1758), Scherillo (1875), Taglialatela (1893), and all who favor the Greek Legend vote for the first opinion. The dates here given are of their works. Caracciolo prefers however 325 for the year of translation.

Some modern writers, unwilling to sacrifice Bishop Cosmas or Zosimus, propose this solution: Bishop Zosimus removed the body about 313-325 and it was placed in the Catacombs in the family burying place of the Januarian Gens: later, Bishop St. Severo constructed a church or so-called basilica in one of the adjoining chambers and there removed the sacred remains, and still later Bishop John I. transferred them to an oratory adjoining St. Severo's church.[11] This solution of the question is certainly ingenious enough but it is about the only merit it possesses, and is a fair sample of that desire, laudable in itself, to have a story rounded out which is consciously or unconsciously urging many Neapolitan authors to defend the Greek Legend. As one of them writes frankly: "Criticism not yet satisfied does not guarantee it. Certainly if we possessed beyond dispute this legend we would possess a treasure. Our St. Januarius would be complete, would be as we wish him to be!" [12]

The only conclusion which can be drawn with the means of criticism at hand is that the body of the saint, before or shortly after the end of the fourth century, was deposited in a church built by

[11] Some writers exclude St. Cosmas or Zosimus from the series of Bishops of Naples and some make him an intruder. *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, under Zosimus. Gams, *Series Epis.* gives no Zosimus, and only a Cosmas who died c. 746.

[12] V. Castaldo in *Revista de Scienze e Lettere*, Cent. No. 1905, p. 130.

St. Severo outside the then walls of Naples, and that this church was closely connected with the catacombs used before that time and for centuries afterwards as a place of interment.[13]

SECOND TRANSLATION.

The body of St. Januarius rested in the church by the Catacombs until shortly after the year 817, when Sico, Duke or Prince of Benevento, having besieged Naples apparently without decisive result, took the martyr's remains, in those days no mean prize, and withdrew to his own city, *onestus tamen sacra et invidenda praeda,* laden with a sacred and enviable booty. There was quite a difference evidently between this duke and one of his successors, Talleyrand, whom Napoleon to spite the Pope appointed to this Duchy, an appointment which Talleyrand with infinite bad taste and worse judgment accepted, seeing that Benevento had for long been a portion of the Papal Dominions.

The church in Benevento in which the body

[13] It may not be amiss to remark that the term basilica in English generally conveys to the reader an idea of a large and extra fine church modelled after the ancient halls of justice in Rome, whereas in early ecclesiastical Latin it is used for churches of all sizes, some of them small and petty. It was also used to designate canopied tombs and small burial chapels in the catacombs. The Pope sometimes gives it as a title of honor to particular churches, as the new church which is being built at Naples to St. Januarius.

was kept having become old and dilapidated, the remains were transferred in 1129 under Gualter, Archbishop of Tarento but at the time also ruler of Benevento, to the new church erected by himself for Januarius and the saints Festus and Desiderius, martyrs with him.

THIRD TRANSLATION.

During the same stormy century but why or when is unknown, but probably for greater security and under either Frederick Barbarossa or his successor, its repose was once more disturbed and it was conveyed secretly to the abbey of Monte Vergine, situated, lofty and fortress-like, on the road between Nola and Benevento, and there without any external indication interred in the centre of the church and a high altar constructed over the spot for better protection.[14]

It seems then that it was gradually lost sight of or forgotten until John Cardinal of Arragon, son of King Ferdinand I., who held the abbey *in commendam,* wished to renovate the church and the high altar having been removed from the centre, the relics were found. Soon after John died and Cardinal Oliver Caraffa had the abbey

[14] Monte Vergine near Avelline was founded in 1119, by St. William, on a spot where formerly stood a temple of Cybele. It is still a place of great pilgrimage. Its abbot, a Benedictine, enjoys quasi-episcopal jurisdiction (*vere nullius*)

and to him wrote King Ferdinand I. of Naples asking that the body might be restored to his city.

After much delay owing to wars, Pope Alexander VI. gave Alexander Caraffa, successor and brother to Oliver who had resigned the See of Naples, permission to remove the body; but when the monks of Monte Vergine heard the rumor of the proposed change they determined not to let this treasure be taken from them and thereupon they closed and fortified their church and monastery. The Archbishop was equally determined to obtain the prize and sent 500 soldiers to besiege the monks. At this interesting juncture the prior who had been absent returned and he settled the whole affair quietly, and so, after an exile of nearly seven hundred years, the body of St. Januarius was brought back once more to Naples, January 13, 1497, and deposited temporarily under the high altar of the Cathedral and immediately the people experienced again the protection of their great patron, for a plague then raging there ceased.

CHAPTER III

"Their name liveth unto generation and generation."— Eccl. 44, 14.

AUTHORITIES — ACTS OF THE MARTYRS —ACTS OF THE SAINT — FIRST APPEARANCE OF HIS NAME — MARTYROLOGIES — DIARIES — AUTHORS

ACTA MARTYRUM.

In the old Roman courts the proceedings of any trial were called *acta* or acts and they were noted down by stenographers, sometimes published by way of posted bulletins and always preserved. These records were also named acts. These acts of the legal courts generally included the preliminaries of the trial, the examinations and speeches of the witnesses and of the accused and the sentence of the judge. When Christians were hauled before the public tribunals, official records of their trials were likewise made, though sometimes indeed these trials had little else of Roman procedure or justice. Now and then copies of these were obtained by the martyrs' friends as we see in the case of the acts of Sts. Tarachus, Probus and Andronicus, where a few Christians

gave about thirty dollars to the public notaries for authentic copies of the official register.[1] To such copies were added accounts of their sufferings and death and these completed records came also to be styled *Acta Martyrum,* Acts of the Martyrs.

Sometimes friends who had been eye-witnesses wrote down accounts of trials and subsequent torments and victory. Of this class are the acts of St. Ignatius of Antioch, whose friends followed him to Rome. We have also authentic parts of acts written by the martyrs themselves describing their examinations and punishments preceding death, as in the acts of Sts. Perpetua and Felicitus, so remarkable for simplicity and eloquence.

The Church, anxious to possess true records of her faithful children who sacrificed everything for Christ, from time to time appointed notaries to take down the proceedings, etc. Pope Anterus, if we accept the *Liber Pontificalis* as reliable authority, was martyred in 235 (6 or 8) on account of his zeal in collecting acts; and Pope Clement, St. Peter's disciple, is stated in the

[1] Acts have been paid for in our own days in the East as we see in the account of the martyrdom of Ignatius Delgrado in the collection entitled: *La Salle des Martyrs du Seminaire des Missions Etrangères,* 1865, p. 162: quoted in LeBlant, p. 14, note. A sale sometimes prevented by the authorities who ordered all notes and accounts destroyed as in the case of Victor the Moor. *Boll.* May 8.

Roman Breviary under date of November 23rd, to have divided the city into seven regions and appointed seven notaries to obtain information and to put in writing the passions of the martyrs, and something similar is related of Pope St. Fabian.[2]

Finally some acts were compiled from accounts current among the people or handed down by tradition or gathered from the writings of the Fathers. Gradually the term acts was used to designate any original or early account of a martyr's trial or death, though strictly speaking it should be limited to official documents which record only the examination and its results, and all other accounts of the martyrs would be styled more correctly *passiones,* passions, or sufferings.

What considering the circumstances was likely to happen did happen in some instances to these acts. In the first place many in the course of time were lost. A decree by Diocletian requiring the sacred books and writings to be delivered up to the authorities helped greatly to diminish

[2] The notices in the *Liber Pontificalis* concerning the work of these notaries have been put under the ban of suspicion by Duchesne (*Liber Pont.* Vol. I, p. 123, 147, etc.), as interpolations to enhance the value of the *Gesta Martyrum* (*Cath. University Bull.,* Vol. 2, p. 329), and the notaries themselves have been rather ingeniously explained almost out of existence (*Dict. d'Arch. Chrét.,* Vol. I, p. 386), but that some such provision was made to secure trustworthy accounts of the martyrs seems too reasonable an idea to be completely discarded without more positive testimony than any so far offered.

their number. Eusebius mentions his seeing precious manuscripts thus obtained, destroyed by fire. In the second place those who copied or compiled acts often lengthened or embellished them by additions of their own, and even now and then they imagined scenes in which martyrs genuine and real enough took the leading part.

As might also be expected critics differ in their opinions concerning the purity and priority of various acts. The Church indeed exercised all the care she could in troublous times to secure reliable documents and later on it can be seen from the ancient councils that she tried to reject all uncertain and falsified ones. In this connection it is interesting to note that the Roman Church scarcely ever had the custom of reading the acts of the martyrs at her public ceremonies and in this she differed from the African and other churches.

Out of the past then we have some acts of the very highest value and a comparatively large number whose authority is in the main good. The name of Dom Ruinart the Benedictine is forever honorably associated with this branch of historical study by the collection he gathered and published, which is so complete that perhaps few if any really valuable acts escaped his vigilant research, a judgment well justified by the labors of Le Blant. Ruinart's collection, *Acta Sincera*

of which title Le Blant remarks it was a "hazardous thing" to call them such, includes however some which on their face could not be either authentic or genuine and also some others which cannot stand the brunt of modern criticism.

Classifying the acts and hagiographic documents in general according to the degree of truth and historic value they may be thought to possess, the Bollandist, Father Delahaye, gives the following result:

1. The official reports hold the first place in theory. It is another question how many of them are pure and unadulterated.

2. The accounts of eye-witnesses or of well-informed contemporaries.

3. Acts of which the principal source is a written document belonging to one or the other of the preceding classes.

4. Historical romances or acts containing a few real events in a framework of imagination.

5. Imaginative romances or acts concerning saints who never existed, written for edification.

6. Forgeries or legends composed purposely to deceive the reader.[3]

[3] *The Legends of the Saints*, 1907, p. III, et seq. It is much to be desired that uniformity would prevail in the use of such words as genuine, authentic. Authentic from its derivation would naturally mean "by the author whose name it bears," but from usage it would be perhaps better if Trench's distinction were followed — genuine for the authorship of the document: authentic for its authority

With regard to our saint there are numerous acts but three have pre-eminence, the *Acta Vaticana, Bonensiana* and *Puteolana.* The *Acta Vaticana,* so called because kept in that library, are sometimes known as *Baroniana* because used in his *Annals* by that giant among historians, Baronius. Upon these acts the most critical and extensive writers on the lives of the saints, the Bollandists, have based their account of the life and blood of St. Januarius, to which they allow no fewer than 132 folio pages in the sixth volume devoted to September.

The Vatican acts date from the end of the same century in the beginning of which he laid down his life, namely, the fourth. How is this proximate date determined? From the following fact. The holy bishop's remains we know, from all the authorities we have, were removed around the end of the fourth from their first place of burial near the Solfatara to the neighborhood of Naples. In these acts this removal is not mentioned, so it is reasonable to conclude

as testimony. Fr. Delahaye, *The Legends of the Saints,* p. 217, distinguishes between authenticity, i. e. written by author named, and veracity, i. e. a truthful or reliable document. This use of veracity is scarcely admissible in English where veracity has always a personal tinge. A very veracious man might write erroneous statements and to declare a document lacking in veracity would cast a doubt upon the author's sincerity. If we hear a strange statement said to have been uttered by one absent we are apt to ask, is that authentic, i. e. did he really say so? The next question would be: Is it true?

they were written before this translation of his relics occurred. On the other hand we know that a small church was erected over this temporary tomb, later at all events than the accession of Constantine which brought peace to the Church, and consequently after 325; but these acts mention this church without referring to it as something new, so it is lawful to deduce from that fact that they were written quite a while after Constantine's triumph. The omission of the translation puts them around 400 and the reference to the little church put them — say about 350.

The Vatican acts written principally to commemorate St. Januarius give but little attention to the other saints who were martyred with him; while the Bolognese acts, so called from Bologna because found in that city in 1744, have for hero, St. Sosius of Miseno who in turn is allotted more space than the remainder. A learned canon of Naples, Mazocchi, a name which becomes well known to students of *Januariana,* wrote a vigorous treatise to prove priority of composition for these acts over all others. His labors, however, were hardly crowned with success though he has had his supporters down to the present time, and the *Acta Vaticana* are still regarded generally as the most ancient in existence, and this despite a second work that the earnest Mazocchi prepared

in reply to the criticisms of the Bollandist Stilting, whose strictures hurt him so much that it is said he published his answer relying upon the reports made him by his pupils, without reading his opponent's book.[4]

In the Bologna acts we read that St. Januarius saw during divine service a flame around the head of St. Sosius who was singing the Gospel, and that he understood thereby that his holy deacon was to die a martyr's death. The mention of this in these acts is quite natural since as we have said they refer mainly to St. Sosius, yet its omission in the Vatican acts, which naturally emphasize everything to the glory of St. Januarius, is somewhat strange and not easily explained.[5]

The *Acta Puteolana* (i. e. of Puteoli or Pozzuoli) relate chiefly to St. Proculus and his fellow-citizens, Sts. Eutychetes and Acutius of Pozzuoli, and give correspondingly little information about St. Januarius and the other members of that glorious band of seven martyrs. There are still other acts, mainly compilations from some

[4] *Actorum Bonon. S. Januarii Vindiciæ Repetitæ*, Naples, 1759. It is also said he refused to read his opponent's work that he might not reply too harshly, but mildness does not predominate to any great extent.

[5] A more complete copy of the acts of St. Januarius than any now known appears to have been in existence about the end of the fifth century. Cf. *Bull. di Archeologia Cristiana*, 1887, p. 47, *Omaggio*, p. 107.

one or more of these or depending principally upon the Offices of Naples, Benevento, etc., which it is not necessary to enumerate here, except one too imporant to be passed over lightly, written by John the Deacon, a Neapolitan and historian of the Bishops of Naples, who wrote during the tenth century the acts of St. Sosius at the request of the Abbot John and Bishop Stephen III of Naples. The occasion of the request was the translation to Naples of the remains of the saint from Miseno, which had fallen into decay after its capture and desertion by the Saracens. They date from about 910, and were compiled from the three sources described above. They enable us to form a better judgment of these by noticing what he accepts and what he rejects and they are especially useful by giving data of the cultus or worship of the patron saint of Naples down to the end of the ninth century.

A homily in honor of the saint deserves mention because it helps to determine the date when the liquefaction was first observed. It dates at latest from the beginning of the ninth century and may be as early as the eighth or the seventh, and though it contains little else than a recital of miracles and graces obtained through his intercession there is no word in it of the miracle of the blood.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF HIS NAME.

The first appearance of his name known to historians, outside of the acts and martyrologies, occurs in Uranius. A Gallic poet, Pacatus by name, conceived the idea of writing a metrical life of the great Saint Paulinus of Nola, consul, poet, bishop and confessor, and he wrote to Uranius, a priest who had been well acquainted with Paulinus, to send him the necessary data, whereupon Uranius sent him a letter containing a sketch of the saint's life. This sketch is still extant and published by Migne in his wonderful series of the Latin Fathers, but it seems that Pacatus never composed the poetical life he planned. The letter of Uranius of date 432, the year of the death of St. Paulinus, contains the name of St. Januarius, Bishop and Martyr, to whom Paulinus had had a special devotion. "When St. Paulinus of Nola was on his death-bed and had received Holy Viaticum, he suddenly inquired where were his brethren. One of the by-standers, thinking he asked about his brother bishops said, see, they are here. But he replied, I mean my brethren Januarius and Martin who just now spoke to me and said they were about to come to me at once. Januarius (adds Uranius), was a bishop and martyr who renders illustrious the church at Naples, and Martin a

most apostolic man whose life is read by all, was a bishop in Gaul."

Peter the Notary uses the saint's name in the sixth century in a manner revealing the high honor in which he was even then held at Naples, for he beseeches the Neapolitan priests *per confessionem meritaque B. Januarii* — through the faith (or sufferings) and merits of Blessed Januarius. The mention of his name alone in this connection would indicate that the saint was the patron of the city.

MARTYROLOGIES.

Lists of saints and martyrs, giving dates and places of suffering, and few if any details were compiled from the early centuries and are known as martyrologies.

" The names of nearly all martyrs collected in one volume, with the passions marked for each day, without indicating how each one suffered, but only the name, place and day of the passion, so that every day many of divers lands and provinces are known to have been crowned and daily in veneration we perform rites of masses." [6] This is the description given by Gregory the Great (542–604) of a volume at Rome, and this volume is supposed to be the martyrology of St. Jerome, one of the earliest and dating back at

[6] *Dict. of Christian Antiquities;* Art. Martyrology.

least in part to his time (340–420). This Hieronymian Martyrology, as it is also called, mentions our saint and so likewise does an ancient one of Carthage (505). Another known as the *Lesser Roman Martyrology,* which goes back in part to the seventh century probably, and was found in the ninth by Archbishop Ado and afterwards lost until rediscovered by Father Rosweyd, the originator of the Bollandist idea, and published by him in 1613, is the first martyrology to give all the companions of St. Januarius in his martyrdom. Venerable Bede, who sleeps in such simple state in Durham's wondrous fane, gives his *eulogium* or short panegyric *ad* 13 *kalendas Oct.,* i. e., Sept. 19, and on the same day the Greek *Menologium* or Calendar of Martyrs, compiled probably in the tenth century by order of the Emperor Basil, honors the saint and his fellow-sufferers. The Greeks have always manifested great devotion to St. Januarius. In this connection it may be recalled to mind that Naples was founded by a Greek colony and that the southern part of Italy and Sicily was long known as *Magna Graecia.* Mass, according to the Greek rite, is said daily in one of the city churches.

For the liquefaction itself and all the various changes and peculiarities perceptible to the sight which accompanied it, the best authorities are

two Diaries, both of which are continued up to date. One of these is in the archiepiscopal archives, and prior to the year 1526 it resembles more a scrap book, being made up of various accounts and extracts from different authors, but from that year the entries are regular and at first hand, with a few exceptional entries supplied from other sources. After 1632 it is complete.

The other is the official diary of the *Tesoro* commenced in September, 1659, wherein are recorded the exposition, the state of the blood when exposed and replaced and all other facts deemed worthy of note. This diary is under the control of the united authorites, lay and clerical, who have charge of the Chapel and the reliquary of St. Januarius.

Bishop Lynch makes the following remarks about these:

"We have spoken of the official diary of the *Tesoro* chapel, commencing in 1659 and of the archiepiscopal diary,[7] commencing as a diary in 1526 and both continuing, the latter with some *lacunæ* in its earlier portions, down to the present time. Of course different hands have penned its pages as years rolled on and it is curious and amusing to note their differences of character as shown in their styles. Even in so plain a matter as recording, day after day and year after

[7] *Cath. World,* Vol. XIV, p. 39. It is stretching a term perhaps a little too much to call this a diary, at least of the Blood, as it is more a record of ceremonies performed in the Duomo and is kept by the Master of Ceremonies.

year, the state and condition of the blood when extracted from its closet, the occurrence and character of the liquefaction, the prominent or important facts of each day and in what condition the blood was when replaced at night in its closet — points which it was the duty of all to record — personal traits are unwittingly manifested.

"One writer evidently was fond of ecclesiastical ceremonies and he is exact in recording the character of the High Mass and of the processions: who and how many walked in them, how many altars were erected on the route through the streets, etc. Another was more of a courtier and he carefully mentions the presence of cardinals, viceroys, ambassadors, princes and eminent personages. A third was devoted to prayer and his entries breathe his spirit of devotion in many a pious ejaculation. One tells you of a new musical *Te Deum* that was sung. Another had a painter's eye and never fails to name with minute precision the varying shades of color seen in the blood. Another still, with more of a mathematical turn, is equally exact in setting forth to the very minute the times of the liquefaction which he records; while others performed their duty in a more perfunctory manner.

"On the whole these diaries are to us most interesting and unique as well for the length of time they cover and the evident sincerity of the writers in stating faithfully what they saw — sometimes to their own astonishment or sorrow, sometimes with joy — as also for the wonderful character of the facts themselves which they recorded."

From amidst the extensive literature on the subject the following authors may be selected

who deal most fully and exclusively with St. Januarius and the liquefaction.

Tutini — *Memorie istoriche Della Vita, Miracoli, e culto di S. Gianuario,* etc. Naples, 1710 gia 1633.

Stilting — *Acta Sanctorum.* Appendix to date Sept. 19.

Girolamo Maria di S. Anna — *Istoria della vita, virtu e miracoli di S. Gen.* Naples, 1707.

Falcone — *L'Intera storia del glorioso Martire S. Gennaro.* Naples, 1718.[8]

Putignano — *De redivivo sanguine S. Januarii Epis. et Mart.* Naples, 1723–5.

Fergola — *Teorica de'Miracoli esposta* and *Un Discorso Apologetico sul Mir. di S. G.* Naples, 1839.

Postel — *Le Miracle de Sainte Janvier à Naples.* Paris, 1857.

Lynch — *The Liquefaction of the Blood of St. Januarius at Naples.* New York, 1872.

Taglialatela — *Memorie Storico-Critiche del Culto e del Sangue di S. Gen.* Naples, 1893.

[8] Falcone called his work "entire" and indeed in one way he was justified as he started from Janus, the two-faced, and did not miss Javan, the son of Japhet, in order to trace the genealogy of the Januarian family! Having finished this learned, laborious and useless task he writes with complacency: "avendo scorso un pelago d'oscurissime antichitá . . . . non sommersivi come gli altri." His work apart from the genealogical explorations suffers from being based too much upon the Greek Legend, yet nevertheless it is useful on account of the numerous acts and other data it contains.

Sperindeo — *Il Miracolo di S. Gennaro.* 3 ed. Naples, 1903.

Cavène — *The Célèbre Miracle de S. Janvier,* Paris, 1909.

There are a great many others who devote a chapter to him in their various histories, etc., among whom are especially to be noted Antonio Caracciolo — *De Sacris Ecclesiae Neapolitanae Monumentis.* Naples, 1645, and Sabbatinus — *Il Vetusto Calendario Napoletano. Naples,* 1747, Vol. IX, under Sept. 19.

A Greek manuscript often referred to as the Greek Legend of St. Januarius and maintained by some to have been written at the beginning of the sixth century has had a curious enough history which runs as follows:

Falcone found it about 1700 in the house of a blind priest, in a cover bearing the title *Concilium Tridentinum,* who had received it apparently through the mistake of a servant from a clerical friend of his at Rome, and he was so much impressed by it that unfortunately he accepted it as authentic and built upon it his life of the saint published in 1713. Soon its authenticity was attacked by a Neapolitan writer and later it was rejected as fabulous by the Bollandist Stilting. In 1758 Falcone tried to defend it and went to such lengths in claiming spiritual privileges for his beloved patron saint that he won a *Donec*

Corrigatur place on the Index. It may be mentioned here that he submitted and died Archbishop of St. Severino. The manuscript itself was then supposed lost but the Benedictines of Monte Cassino published the legend in the second volume of their *Bibliotheca Cassinensis* in 1871, both in Greek and Latin, the Greek from a copy and the Latin from a translation both made by Falcone. The original was found about the same time in a second-hand bookstore in Naples and is preserved in the library for Neapolitan History on the Piazza Dante. Scherillo defended this Greek Legend in a work published in 1876.

What authority has this manuscript? The Cassino editors evidently regarded it very favorably and speak of its utility as a historical work apart from its life of the saint. They admit many interpolations in it. Others reject it completely. As a matter of fact it appears almost completely useless. If it were authentic and genuine in its entirety it would be as great a miracle as the liquefaction and certainly harder to believe.[9]

It is supposed to have come into existence in

[9] Published also at Monte Cassino in 1875, under the title of *Vita S. Januarii*, in both Greek and Latin. The parts regarded as interpolated without any doubt are marked by a difference in type, but in the preface the decision about its authenticity is left to the learned.

this way: Some members of the saint's family wrote down edifying items of his childhood, etc., while he was still living: these were given to a certain Fronimus, a relation or member of the family, who formed a book out of them. In 500 by command of Stephen I., Bishop of Naples, a monk named Emmanuel complied a complete life of the saint up to his own time. In 1545 a monk named Gregory transcribed them from the original codex of Emmanuel and this copy was discovered as related above. No one had ever heard of it before and it scarcely seems worth while to claim that some parts of it may be reliable and some perhaps interpolated by its transcriber as it bears all the ear-marks of a composition made to supply missing and desirable pious data.

CHAPTER IV

"Let us now praise men
of renown."— Eccl. 44, 1.

HONORS PAID THE SAINT — CHURCHES — STATUES — TWO FAMOUS CHAPELS — CUSTODIANS OF THE TESORO — CHIEF FEASTS

HONORS PAID THE SAINT.

The high esteem and great affection in which the Neapolitans have always held their renowned and world famous patron and his favors to them in return are abundantly shown in many and diverse ways: poems, hymns, pictures, books, statues, medals, chapels, churches, etc., have been multiplied until their number in the aggregate almost equals the number of children who have borne the name Gennaro, which is as well-known and as popular in Naples as Patrick in Ireland.

CHURCHES.

There is a church with monastery attached erected over his first resting place near the *Forum Vulcani* or Solfatara. The date of its foundation is not known, but since it was the custom to mark such holy spots it is most probable that

some edifice was put up within a short time after the Christians were able to breathe in peace. According to the Vatican acts it could be assumed that the basilica mentioned in them stood here before the remains were transferred to the neighborhood of the city. Naples raised a monastery here for the Benedictines which later in 1574 was handed over to the Capuchins. In 1580 the church was repaired and from time to time it was overhauled by the zeal of the city or of some of her generous inhabitants. A fire destroyed it almost completely in 1860 but it was soon again restored. The monastery having been suppressed on the last day of the year 1866, the city again came to the rescue, obtained possession of it and placed some priests in charge.

Another church, St. Januarius *Extra Muros* or "Outside the Walls," was erected near Naples by St. Severo, bishop of Naples, when the saint's remains were removed from Marcion's farm as told above. It was not then customary to bury bodies within cities, this being forbidden by Roman laws. This church may have been in the crypt or cemetery of the catacombs as Carraciolo declares. Here can be still seen a marble chair said to be St. Severo's. St. Athanasius, another bishop of Naples, renewed this church in the ninth century and ornamented it with pictures and a marble altar.

"It is pleasing to see in our catacombs of St. Januarius the picture of the great martyr surrounded by his six companions, each with his own insignia. These pictures which go back to the ninth century are in a small chamber in the vestibule of the first floor of the catacombs. They have been repainted twice. On the wall in front is seen St. Januarius, juvenile in appearance, clasping in his left hand the Bible and giving a blessing with his right. At his sides are the two deacons, holding in their left hands the gospels and stretching out their right hands as if preaching. On the wall to the right is the other deacon in a similar attitude. These deacons are St. Festus, St. Sosius, and St. Proculus. On the left wall stands the lector, St. Desiderius with his name SCS DESIDERIUS. In place of the scriptures he carries a lectionary or scroll as a lector or reader and holds it reverently with a veiled hand.[1] The two laymen, St. Eutychetes on the right wall and St. Acutius on the left, close the scene. Their names are given. They are clad in tunic and chlamys ornamented with a purple stripe and fastened over the right shoulder with a pin or brooch. St. Acutius bears a cross in his right hand and both have in their left hands a crown of Byzantine design." [2]

[1] Lectionaries contained sections from the scriptures read during the Mass, often from the Prophets, Epistles and Gospels. It was the duty of the Lector to read these. See *A Catholic Dictionary* and *Dict. of Christ. Antiq.* Lector or Reader is the second of the Minor Orders leading to the priesthood. In connection with the veiled hand it may be remembered that it was etiquette among the Romans to cover the hand when receiving a document from the Emperor.

[2] *Revista di Scienze e Lettere,* p. 29. Art. by C. A. Galante.

Not far from that part of Naples called Capo di Monte or head of the mountain, there stands at present a church under the invocation of St. Januarius. Some distance in front of it is a large hospice or asylum for the poor, which is also called after the saint, and back of the church is the entrance to the catacombs. This church, now "completely modernised," was built in the ninth century upon the site of a former basilica or chapel and this former chapel was probably the one just mentioned above as having been due to St. Severo. There would be little or no difficulty in admitting the identity of the two were it not for the various interpretations put upon a passage in John the Deacon, which has in consequence become quite classical in Neapolitan archaeological writings. The passage is from his history of the Bishops of Naples when he treats of St. Athanasius: *Praeterea ecclesiam St. Januarii in ipso cubiculo positam renovavit . . . faciens ibi marmoream altare cum regiolis argenteis* and he adds *In ecclesia denique S. Januarii, foris sita, monachorum collegium sub abbatis regimine ordinavit . . . .* "St. Athanasius moreover renewed the church of St. Januarius which was in the place of his sepulchre. And lastly he settled a community of monks under the rule of an abbot in the church of St. Januarius Outside the Walls." Cubiculum here

signifies the place where a saint's body rests. Do these two passages refer to the same church?

There is no difficulty from the difference in name as often the same church is called by different names; thus John the Deacon in the very writing from which these extracts are taken, calls the cathedral, the Church of the Savior and also the Stephania after St. Stephen, formerly bishop of Naples. Neither is there any difficulty if we take for granted, and there is no good reason why we should not, that when St. Severo erected a church for the remains of the holy martyr, it was built before the catacombs, yet so as to include or to be closely connected with the first rooms or chambers on the ground floor of the catacombs, and that in the subterranean part he placed the body of the saint. It may be remarked here that the catacombs of Naples are entered practically on a level or on a slight elevation from the surface of the ground outside as they are excavated in the side of a hill. If St. Severo arranged only the chamber in the catacombs, some one else, later than he but earlier than St. Athanasius, built the church outside, but it is altogether more probable that he was the builder as suggested. When we read then that St. Athanasius renewed the church, *in ipso cubiculo,* in the very place of his sepulchre, we understand that he at least renovated the chamber where the body lay, but in all

probability the entire church including the catacombal portion. That the church was of considerable size and importance we know from the fact quoted above that St. Athanasius established there a number of monks, and from the church itself still standing, though much changed. That this renewal was of the kind suggested is the opinion of Bishop Sabbatini, adopted and defended by the Bollandists.

This solution is so easy and apparent, whence then the controversy? Writers like Mazzochi, Falcone and more modern ones are very anxious to prove that there was a chapel of St. Januarius attached to the cathedral itself. And why this anxiety? They desire to show that the head and blood were preserved in this chapel, for if this be not granted, no one can determine whereabouts in Naples they were really deposited for some centuries before the twelfth, and needless to say that a *lacuna* like this is very disagreeable to most native historians. This *lacuna* offers no reply to the question, were the head and blood at St. Januarius Outside the Walls: if so, how did they escape the strong hand of Duke Sico of Benevento, when he took the body away about 817? If not, where were they? and these authors would fain reply that the words of John the Deacon about the church *in ipso cubiculo* refer to a chapel attached or adjoining to the cathedral and that

in this chapel, which Stilting the Bollandist terms imaginary, the two important relics had been kept and thus escaped capture. The subject is in deep obscurity and will so remain unless some discovery in manuscript or stone be made, and in the meanwhile it can be remarked with some of our authorities that there were other churches in Naples dedicated to the saint, as St. Januarius *all'Olmo* and *Spogliamorti* and in one or both the relics together or separately might have been honored; but that they were both in the cathedral in the twelfth century admits of no sensible doubt as it was even then called after our saint. We have dwelt at some length without going into it deeply on the point, not precisely because of its utility but as a well known subject of dispute and at the same time it helps to complete the history itself of the relics.

A third church, once attributed to Constantine the Great but now recognized as of a later date, called St. Januarius *in Diaconia* and at present often St. Januarius *ad Ulmum* or 'at the Elm,' is ascribed by John the Deacon to St. Agnello, bishop of Naples from 672 to 694, who instituted a deaconry there and some cells. John himself was deacon of it. It was formerly a parish and is so now again.

A fourth one, St. Januarius *Spolians Mortuos in Vico Judæorum*, is known since 1581 as St.

Mary of the Angels. This somewhat sensational sounding title, "stripping the dead in the Jewish quarter," loses its dramatic interest when we learn that the church probably derived this appellation because it stood near a city gate leading to a cemetery and thereabouts was a place where it was customary to sell the effects of those who died in poverty.

A fifth *San Gennaro ad Antignano* stood upon the hill of Antignano. In the Archiepiscopal Archives we read: "There is no knowledge of the founder of this Church of St. Gennariello and it is believed to have been established by the City of Naples out of devotion to the Glorious St. Januarius and in this church are the insignia or arms of the city." It was restored in 1707 and an inscription placed there in commemoration of the first liquefaction of the saint's blood which is said to have occurred on this spot: but of this later. In part the inscription was as follows:

DIVO JANUARIO
TUTELARIUM MAXIMO
TUTELARIO AUSPICATISSIMO
QUOD LOCUM HUNC DUM EJUS
CORPUS E PUTEOLANO AGRO
NEAPOLIM
TRANSFERRETUR
NOVO NEC DUM AUDITO SUCCESSU
CONCRETUM NIMIRUM SANGUINE

AD CAPITIS OBJECTUM TUNC PRIMUM
SOLUTO SACRAVIT

. . . . . .

ANNO A PARTU VIRGINIS MDCCVII.

In 1857 King Ferdinand purchased the ground from a private family who were in possession of it at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and resolved to rebuild there on a large scale, but the fall of the Bourbons in 1860 caused it to become government property and it was declared to be *monumental,* though the use of it was given to the church authorities for public sacred services. Notwithstanding these decrees it was quietly demolished in 1895 to make way for one of those modern, big, homely, so-called *palazzi.* The Neapolitan people aroused by the sixteenth centenary of their patron have built in the vicinity a church after the style of the fourth century. The interior, basilical in form has three naves. The material is stone and brick. The facade is of alternate rows of stone and brick up to the fascia and above reticulated work in two colors. The doorways and windows are of white marble and the doors of bronze. The foundation is of travertine. It is the property of the Pope, offered to him by the people and accepted in 1907. Dr. Sperindeo is the pastor.

There is a sixth, *San Gennarello al Vomero,* a ***chiesetta*** or churchlet as the Italians call the

diminutive ones. It is not far from the one just mentioned. It was built to contain the stone upon which the saint's head had rested when carried from the Solfatara District to be interred in his new church outside the city walls. Formerly once a year according to Professor Januario, the city authorities opened the doors to expose for veneration the stone which is inclosed in a niche over which are the arms of the city and the following inscription:[3]

D. O. M.
LAPIDEM HUNC VETUSTATE
COLLAPSUM
OBLIVIONE SEPULTUM
INCLYTO JANUARII SANCTISSIMI
CRUENTO CAPITI
PUTEOLIS NEAPOLIM PIE TRADUCTO
HIC SUBSTENTACULUM
TANTI PATRONI DE URBE PARTENOPE
BENEMERENTIS
NE NIMIA SUAE GLORIAE TESSERA
DEBITA VENERATIONE FRAUDETUR
IPSA GRATITUDINIS HAUD IMMEMOR
AD AEVUM COLLABENTIS OCCURRIT
IN HAC FORMA VENERANDO
REPOSUIT ANNO A SALUTE
MDXIII.

Outside the Capuan Gate there was a chapel erected in 1550 and another at Monte Oliveto

[3] *Il Sangue di Gennaro Attraverso i Secoli*, by Professor Raffælo Januario, p. 10. Naples, 1902, p. 10.

and still another called St. Gennaro de'Cavalcanti. The year after the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 1631 a fine large church was built at Torre del Greco, a town about seven miles from Naples and practically joined to it by intervening towns and suburban districts. We read on it: *Ex pietate fidelissimae civitatis Neapolis Sancto Januario liberatori,* "Out of filial devotion of the most faithful city of Naples to St. Januarius its liberator."

At Pollena, at Secondigliano, at Aversa, at Ottaiano, at Torre Annunziata, at Nolo, at Caggiano, at Amalfi and at a dozen other places churches stand in memory of this glorious martyr but it would take too long to enumerate them all. Benevento especially honored itself by erecting four or five temples to God under his invocation. One at Cimitile must not be passed over in silence because in this little town, quite close to Nola where the saint is said to have been captured, was the furnace into which he and his companions were cast only to have the miracle of the three children in the fiery furnace at Babylon repeated, since they came out unscathed.

At Reichenau, an islet in that part of Lake Constance called the Unter See, once famous and ever memorable for its great Benedictine Abbey, there stood a chapel dedicated to St. Januarius and in it were preserved some notable relics of

him and of two or three of his holy companions. Concerning these relics there was once a dispute which can be read in the Bollandists under date and in Piglialatela's oft-quoted work, chapter XXVII.

STATUES.

There is a very old marble bust of the saint in the Church of the Capuchins, erected as stated over the place of his burial in the vicinity of the Solfatara. The shape of the vestments and of the mitre, especially its low height, betray its antiquity. The nose suffered like so many others as every visitor to galleries of sculpture has observed. There is a peculiar mark or stain on the side of the face which does not show very clearly in our picture, taken from the Acta Sanctorum. About this statue there are many curious legends. We will merely mention as interesting and without discussing its historical proofs which, however, are not wanting whatever may be thought of their value, that the mark is said to have come in 1656, like a black tumor which later on changed its appearance so as to leave the scar as it stands to-day. This may be a case of the story following the appearance to account for it. Another story is that the face of the statue has changed color and expression and even apparently wept. Of course it is easy to think of

Very old bust of St. Januarius in his church near Pozzuoli.

moisture and it is equally easy to forget that even those who claimed to have seen it weep could also think of moisture and even wipe it to observe the phenomenon better.

There are other stories of weeping statues in both Pagan[4] and Christian times, but a point not to be passed over in total silence in connection with this one is that these phenomena are declared to have been observed as late as 1656, 1668, and 1734 and have been sworn to by witnesses of probity and intelligence. To the stone preserved in this church with some stains of blood upon it, a paragraph in the Appendix will be devoted.

A temporary altar was erected before the Church of St. Catherine *a fornello* for the procession during the awful eruption in 1631 and here afterwards was placed a monument with an inscription by Gian Battista Vico, the celebrated jurist, whom, after St. Thomas Aquinas, the Italians regard justly as the most illustrious professor their University can boast of.

On the small Piazza of San Gennaro, near the Duomo, there is a column of marble which commemorates the same eruption and the gratitude of the citizens to their martyred fellow-citizen for their deliverance. On the summit of it stands his statue in bronze by Finelli.

[4] *Livy*, XLIII, 13. Apollo wept three days and three nights.

When on Oct. 19, 1767, Vesuvius resumed his objectionable activity and threatened Naples once more, a procession headed by the Archbishop, under the direction of the famous Dominican, Padre Rocco, so well beloved by the Neapolitans, carried his bust to the Ponte della Maddelena, whence the saint could easily see his old antagonist and rebuke him by a look, which he took so much to heart that when the procession had re-entered the chapel he had become quiet. In gratitude a marble statue was put up with an inscription of course and "on the Ponte della Maddelena he stands to this day, his outstretched arm pointing to the mountain with a gesture drawn from the mimic language of the people, bids it 'Halt!'"

These churches, chapels and statues did not exhaust the fervor of the Neapolitans towards their favorite saint and we find his name given to streets and squares, bridges, piers and city gates. Medals have been struck in his honor, some of which with Latin and Greek inscriptions are said to go back a thousand years or more, though this antiquity is denied by critics. Every church in the city has a statue or two of him and many of them chapels to his honor and nearly all of the various monuments commemorate some favor obtained from heaven through his intercession *pro suo fidelissimo populo,* for his most faithful people, cures of the sick in body and soul, temporal

advantages, preservation from heresy and the most striking of all, their preservation from the fierce wooing of their sulky, fiery and irascible neighbor, Vesuvius, whose embrace would mean destruction and death.

The Order of St. Januarius was instituted in 1738 by Charles III., and the first cavaliers named were the Emperors of Austria and of Russia, the Kings of France, Bavaria, Denmark, Prussia, Sardinia, Saxony, etc.

When the Bollandists were in Naples in 1753 time did not permit them to procure copies of all the documents, etc., concerning the saint and his cult, but the city at its own expense caused copies of the various acts and diaries to be made which it forwarded them in 1756 along with numerous engravings of the saint, of his reliquary, etc., thus showing their devotion to their great patron in their usual royal manner.[5]

[5] In only one other religious line do the Neapolitans seem to have equalled themselves in their devotion towards their glorious patron and that is towards the sick and the poor. No city we believe can or at least could boast of so many great and various charities carried on with zeal, generosity and above all with a delicate consideration for the feelings of those relieved scarcely to be found outside Catholic countries. The refined poor, the discharged patient, the released prisoner, the friendless girl, the orphan boy, the feeble Methusalems of both sexes found help and friends and Christian love and not mere philanthropic assistance or cold official comfort. In his work *A Tour Through Italy*, London, which will charm the reader despite some faults of the time and its date of publication, 1813, Rev. J. C. Eustace mentions various

TWO FAMOUS CHAPELS.

Naples however seemed to outdo herself when it came to chapels to contain his main relics. The Cathedral itself though dedicated since its erection in the thirteenth century to Our Lady of the Assumption, was and is often called by the citizens and in guide books by his name, though there is no proof that we know of that it ever was dedicated to the saint. But in it are two famous chapels. One of these commonly called the *sub-corpus* or *suc-corpo,* directly under the high altar, is a beautiful piece of work ornamented in pure and severe taste by Thomas Malvita di Como. The floor, ceiling, altars, statues and stairs are of Parian marble and here lies in a bronze sarcophagus under the main altar the body of the saint since 1506, the year in which the chapel was finished, and here since the same time kneels Cardinal Oliver Caraffa in white marble before the shrine, who had this chaste place of sepulchre prepared for St. Januarius. Fine and beautiful as is this subterranean oratory, it does not begin to compare in wealth and magnificence with the Chapel of St. Januarius, which is the third from the door on the right hand side as you enter the Cathedral. This one is known as

charities and it was his testimony which drew attention to the manifold and graceful forms of real charity as seen in Naples.

THE TREASURY OF ST. JANUARIUS,

and is one of the finest and richest in the world. Vowed by the city during the plague in 1527, it was only begun in 1608 according to the plans of Father Grimaldi the Theatine. This long delay arose most probably from the wish to wait until the sum of money promised yearly by the city would amount to enough to enable them to complete the building in a style corresponding to their desires. Artists vied with one another to be employed in its adorning. Many a strange tale is told of them and their rivalry. Guido had to flee for his life on account of the Greek, Belisar Corenzio, likewise the Chevalier L'Arpino, while poor Dominichino was said to have died of chagrin over a trick played by a workman, bribed by a jealous artist, so that his frescoes might quickly fade. No matter how human hopes and vanity may have played around its completion, the interior with its seven fine altars, its precious marbles, its glowing frescoes, its numerous glistening silver statues, its lofty and elegant ceiling forms a gorgeous picture. The riches contained in the sacristy, in itself artistic and richly decorated, are in keeping with this splendor, for there are costly chalices, shining crowns, splendid mitres, precious rings and chains presented in honor of the saint by Popes, kings and others. One mitre contains

3,325 diamonds, 168 rubies and 188 emeralds.

These are royal gifts but when we read on the saint's visiting list, viceroys of Sardinia, of Sicily, princes of Poland, kings of Spain, kings and queens of Italy, empresses of Russia and Popes and many other noble and distinguished names, we are not so surprised that their gifts are great and notable.

Before either of these two chapels were in existence there was a *Tesoro* or Treasury of St. Januarius, on the left hand as you enter, where the head and blood were kept. This chamber or chapel was in the tower and was reached by a spiral staircase. Owing to an accident by which the chaplain slipping upon the top step allowed the reliquary to escape from his hands, it rolled down the steps one after another to the bottom but providentially without breaking. The winding staircase was supplanted by another straight and handsome one and the custom introduced of fastening the reliquary to a chain around the neck of the priest who holds it.

Over the entrance to the present *Tesoro* we read this inscription: Divo Januario E. Fame, Bello. Peste. Ac. Vesaeviigne. Miri. Ope. Sanguinis. Erepta. Neapolis. Civi. Patrono. Vindici.[6]

[6] "To St. Januarius from famine, war, plague and fire of Vesuvius by aid of his marvellous blood Naples delivered, Fellow-citizen, Patron and Liberator."

Magnificent bronze gates that took years of labor to finish shut this chapel in from the rest of the Cathedral and opposite to them, behind the high altar in two niches closed with doors covered with silver plates, a gift in 1667 of Charles II of Spain, are preserved the head of the saint and the phials containing the world-famed and much discussed blood. Let us call it blood for the present. If it be not blood it would still be one of the strangest and most puzzling and most unique substances in the world.

While the head and the blood were still in the old Treasury, a deputation of nobles had charge of its temporal administration and maintenance. The city was formerly divided into five *sedili* or *seggie* or wards for the nobles, and the people constituted another and each section met in its hall to discuss questions and transact business relating to the common welfare. These divisions were named Seggio del Capuana, di Montagna, di Nilo, di Porto and di Portanova and the Seggio del Popolo. When the new Tesoro was built it was declared by Paul V to be under the city of Naples and the city had the right of patronage over it. It was to be administered by twelve deputies, two from each of the noble seggie and two from the people's. These city divisions having been abolished about 1800 and the names of all the old Neapolitan nobles written down in a

kind of Blue Book called in this case the Book of Gold, it was arranged that a certain committee of them should appoint ten deputies from among the nobles and two from the people. Since 1861 the selection is made by the king in the same proportion and the Syndic of Naples is always *ex-officio* the president of the Royal Deputation.

By the authority of Urban VIII it was settled that twelve chaplains should look after the spiritual interests of the chapel, ten of whom are of noble birth and two from among the people. One of the twelve is treasurer for life and each old *sedile* has it in turn. The chaplains are all monsignori, are bound to recite the office in choir and enjoy special privileges and are supported by the state. The chapel is under papal jurisdiction.

During the French occupation in the beginning of the nineteenth century many changes were introduced in regard to benefices and church property in general but the Chapel of the Treasury was untouched and even special arrangements made for its maintenance.[7]

Away back as far as 1337, eight churches had been named to which the May procession should go. In 1525, Jerome Pellegrino, one of the people's deputies, asked the Archbishop, Cardinal V. Carafa, to have the procession go instead to the

[7] Taglialatela, op. cit. p. 220, et seq.

Piazza della Sellaria and his petition was granted. Other deputies made the same request and from that time arose the custom of going in turns to the various piazzi or squares of the *seggie,* where a highly decorated altar would be set up, and here the bust containing the head would be brought in the morning and during the day the archbishop would come bringing the blood and then prayers would be recited and the liquefaction awaited. Greater publicity could scarcely be imagined. Since the abolition of the *sedili* the procession has for its terminus a church, generally that of St. Clare, but it winds its way through streets that touch upon the five old divisions of the city.

In 1646, when it was the turn of the Seggio Capuano to have the honor of the presence of the famous relics, the deputies went according to custom to carry the head, but the treasurer referred them to the archbishop Cardinal Filomarino, who standing on what he considered his rights refused and persisted in refusing, even when asked by the viceroy to follow the usual custom to prevent trouble, as already his attitude in the matter had caused much commotion among the easily excited people. The procession started and was wending its way in such a direction that the Sedile Capuano would be passed by, when the nobles of that division and many others halted the Cardinal and

presented to him a formal petition claiming their rights. The Cardinal did not accept the interruption very graciously and thus arose a quarrel, to settle which he appealed to Rome. Pope Innocent X ordered the relics to be transferred to the new Chapel then ready for occupancy, which was done in 1647 with great solemnity and an agreement was drawn up after due discussion in presence of the Papal Envoy, Bishop Emilio Altieri, afterwards Pope Clement X and signed by the Archbishop, the Envoy and all the deputies. In this *Capitulation* as it is commonly called, it was settled when and how the sacred relics were to be exposed and that the keys of the repositories should be in the hands of the Metropolitan and of the City, so that neither could have access without the consent and presence of the other. One important incident to which reference will be made later is omitted purposely in this account of the dispute.

CHIEF FEASTS.

There are three principal festivals in Naples every year in honor of St. Januarius, of which the leading one, in commemoration of his martyrdom, is kept on the 19th of September with an octave. During these eight days the relics are brought out after mass as described elsewhere and placed on

the high altar of the chapel and replaced in their recesses each evening.

The second festival in importance held on the first Sunday in May is commonly regarded as in honor of the translation of his remains from the Marcian tomb to Naples. It has likewise an octave and the ceremonies are the same as for the September celebration with one important exception. This is the solemn procession which takes place always on the Saturday before the first Sunday in May, when the head is borne to St. Clare's Church in the morning and in the afternoon the blood, and after the liquefaction, if it occurs, they are returned towards nightfall to the chapel.

This peculiar ceremony on the vigil of the festival in May excites some curiosity. In 1337 the same procedure of transferring the head in the morning to one church was observed as we see from the ritual of Archbishop Ursino which is still preserved, and in the afternoon it was taken back by a more solemn procession headed by the archbishop himself accompanied by all his suffragans, abbots, canons and clergy, who when they had returned to the Cathedral sang solemn vespers. The removal of the head and its return in state may be in remembrance of the first removal of the martyr's body to the church without the walls, but it might also point to some special event in the history of the head itself, which we

know was kept separate from the body from a very early day though we are ignorant of the date. A point, however, not to be overlooked is the absence of the blood in the old procession, for if it was to be there it would surely have been mentioned. It was only later, when we do not know but certainly before 1525, that the blood was brought to the chosen church so that it could be placed in sight of the head.

The third is the feast of the Patronage of St. Januarius, celebrated on December the 16th. This date had been dedicated to the saint from the time of Archbishop Caspar de Diano who had set apart in 1440 one day in each month for the saint, but after the terrible eruption of 1631 this feast was observed with greater care and solemnity.[8]

St. Januarius in the calendar of the Roman church has had variations of fortune. The commemoration of himself and his companions is found prescribed for the 19th of September in the liturgy since the times of Gregory the Great, and it was continued up to the reform of the breviary and missal under St. Pius V, when it was dropped. Sextus V. in 1586 restored it as a feast

[8] This feast had been transferred to the Sunday following the 16th but after 1857, when earthquakes had wrought damage elsewhere in the neighborhood but not in Naples, Cardinal Sforza appointed the exact day to be again observed.

with simple rites and Gregory XIV. in 1591 raised it to semi-double rites and Innocent XI. in 1676 to double rites for the whole church.[9] In the Neapolitan calendar he ranks among the highest, some of his feasts being holy days of obligation.

The Chapel of the Treasury has many spiritual privileges: all its altars are privileged; a votive mass of the saint can be said once a week and there are numerous indulgences plenary and partial, some for every day and others distributed throughout the year.

In this connection may be mentioned a curious and pretty custom, though it may seem odd to our cold eyes and times. It was a rule that the priests in the procession of the vigil of the first Sunday of May should wear crowns of roses or other flowers on their heads and carry branches adorned with flowers and birds (sic) in their hands.[10] Roses were used by the Christians

[9] *Geschichte des Breviers,* by P. Suitbert Bäumer, O. S. B., p. 480 states simply that Sixtus V. restored the feasts of Sts. Peter Martyr, Anthony of Padua and Januarius with his companions to the Roman Breviary as doubles from which they had been removed by Pius V, in 1568.

[10] Celano's *Constit. Eccl. Neapol.* Cap. 38. ". . . . necnon deferre arbores ornatas floribus et avibus diversis." Lest some member of the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals may shudder at the fate of these poor birds, it is added that it was customary to set free all members of the feathered tribe which took part in Catholic Church celebrations except those offered in sacrifice to the god Fames.

from the earliest times to express joy and gladness but they were not worn in the spirit of the pagans of old who cried: "Let us crown ourselves with roses before they be withered." [11] The word flower brings to mind the inscription in the catacombs, *martyr, flore.* They were used in Naples until a few centuries ago and they are still in use in some parts of the province. On the first Sunday itself all who took part in the procession attended the ceremony called *Pastor Bonus* in the Cathedral by which the clergy paid their homage to their Archbishop, and it is probably as a relic of the flowers worn then by the priests that they still present a basket of artificial ones.[12] Wonderful and delicate creations of art they are, but who would not prefer to see natural ones in the church? This was popularly styled *La Festa Inghirlandata,* the Garlanded Feast.

[11] Wisdom, 2, 8.

[12] Ambrose Leone in his *Storia di Nola,* p. 38, says, that when the priests offered their obedience to their bishop they were obliged to wear crowns of flowers to indicate the joy and readiness with which they should appear before him.

CHAPTER V

"The number of his years is unsearchable."— Job, 36, 26.

TIME OF THE FIRST LIQUEFACTION — PROXIMATE DATE

TIME OF THE FIRST LIQUEFACTION.

When the blood first liquefied is not known with certainty. Around the hill of Antignano cluster several legends connected with St. Januarius, and some of these relate to the liquefaction. One story runs that on this hill the holy bishop rested when chained with his companions the governor dragged them behind his chariot from Nola to Pozzuoli. Another story is that the ampullae at first were retained at Pozzuoli and yearly a procession started from there bearing them and another from Naples bearing the head. They met on this hill and there the liquefaction was awaited. This legend does not indicate the beginning of the "wonder." The third story and the one most widely favored is that when the remains were taken in solemn procession from their temporary tomb to the church outside Na-

ples, the pious woman who had gathered the saint's blood or a descendant of hers offered to the bishop the phial which had up to then been preserved at her home. This presentation took place on the hill of Antignano where the procession had halted to rest. One version says the procession halted at a particular spot but denies the presentation incident. As soon as the phial was brought near the relics the dry blood at once liquefied and bubbled and this was the initial miracle of a long series which still continues without end.

The Greek Legend is even explicit enough to tell us her name and position in life, Eusebia, the old nurse of Januarius, and it adds that she had retired from Naples to the village of Antignano soon after his death. There are variations of this last story, such as that the gatherer of the blood informed the bishop of the treasure she possessed and he came with the head and a procession to claim it from her hands: and then occurred at the same particular spot the liquefaction. This would be of course after the first translation of the body. In some of these stories it is a Neapolitan matron who collected the blood, etc. At all events either in memory of this first liquefaction or because someone who wished to honor St. Januarius by building was led to select this hill by the legends connected with it, the church which

we met some pages back was built on the spot dating from we know not when and removed in 1895; but a new one as we have seen has just been erected to supply its place. The *chiesetta* also has been introduced, where the stone upon which the saint's head should have been deposited during the halt is guarded. If you read the inscription you will have noticed that the stone had been there apparently a long time before 1513, when the present churchlet was provided for its protection, as it is stated that the stone had fallen from age and had been forgotten — *vetustate collapsum oblivione sepultum.*

What shall we say about these legends? The first about the saint's rest and the second concerning the double procession have in themselves nothing so very improbable. This hill lay on the common road between Pozzuoli and Naples and the eastern districts generally and was much travelled, despite the old grotto through the hill Posilippo to make the coast road passable and convenient, but the first story does not concern us much just now and the second is too shadowy to be accepted without some proof stronger than a vague popular tradition; so we turn quietly from them to consider the third one more leisurely. We find it quite imposing in appearance and fortified as it is by two churches it wears even an air of impregnability.

"Anyone who has interested himself in historical research must have been more than once brought to a standstill before a problem very delicate to resolve. Facts present themselves of which no trace has been detected in any contemporary writing or monument; they have remained buried for centuries in thick darkness, and, suddenly, after all this long interval, we see them blaze forth, and become accepted as indubitable. Thousands of mouths relate them, often with most elaborate details, but without ever advancing a serious guarantee which can enable us to assure ourselves of the fidelity of the accounts." [1]

This strikes fairly and squarely the Neapolitan tradition as we know it, because it rests upon no documentary evidence: The voices of the past are silent about this oft-told tale.

Does this silence of contemporary or almost contemporary records furnish conclusive proof against it? We reply in the affirmative. The acts of the saint, written or copied after the translation of his remains in question, since they relate this translation, do not mention the miracle. Here we can use again Fr. de Smedt's words, who gives two points as indicating when a negative argument has full force, and this argument based upon the silence of contemporary or equivalent witnesses comes of course under this category. The first point is, the author *could* not

[1] *Historical Criticism* — P. C. de Smedt, S. J. *Summer School Essays,* Vol. I, p. 254.

have been ignorant of the fact if it happened as alleged; and the second is, he *would* not have failed to mention it in such of his works as we possess.[2]

Under these two points we can safely group the acts and homilies of the sixth to the eighth centuries and especially a eulogy of the saint written plainly and professedly, about his miracles since it records nothing else, and the works of John the Deacon who brought the account down to 872. Such writers we can easily say *could* not have been ignorant of such a remarkable occurrence, for though other liquefactions are known they are sufficiently rare to attract great attention especially in those days and still more especially if of striking appearance, and such certainly the first liquefaction would have been, had it occurred under the dramatic circumstances narrated in the legend; and as the object of most of these writers was to glorify the saint, an object that tends to the magnification of deeds and the multiplication of miracles, they *would* not, it is reasonable to conclude, have omitted this great fact which would have redounded so highly to the glory of their favorite St. Januarius. But they are silent and their silence reveals their ignorance of the miracle.

The first author to mention this first liquefaction appears to be Paolo Regio, who wrote in

[2] Same work, p. 275.

1579, and he cites no earlier testimonials. Later writers like Tutini, G. M. di S. Anna, argue for the tradition, but Chiocarelli, Sabbatini, Mazzochi and Stilting reject it. An unsigned article in the "Omaggio," a special sixteenth centenary number of the *Revista di Scienze e Lettere* in honor of the martyrdom of St. Januarius, repeats the story as a product of "the historical legend."

Are we then to consider this legend as entirely devoid of truth? Tradition lingers so long and so persistently around this hill of Antignano that it is difficult to disabuse one's mind of the thought that though the legends may differ in details yet there must be some central core of truth; but if historical tradition be that which goes back to the event itself and popular tradition be that which arises without foundation at a much later date, we are compelled to declare that this particular popular tradition should silently steal away from the field of history and be content to haunt the hill as a myth for the present. For the present is added because so many once accepted facts are now proved false and on the other hand so many improbabilities are recognized as true and well attested historical events that we should be sorry to banish it without holding out some hope of a future recall, even though we confess we see at present no foundation however slender upon which that hope might rest, except the thought

that many will doubtless entertain that some incident connected with the saint living or dead must have happened in its neighborhood.

THE PROXIMATE DATE.

The beginning of the tenth century is about the time to which the last writings of John the Deacon belong and he seems to know nothing about the liquefaction.

The beginning of the twelfth century is, roundly speaking, the date of the visit of St. Peregrinus and it was then "a celebrated miracle." [3]

[3] *Acta SS.* p. 831, Tom. VI., Sept. ed. Palme.—"The name of Macbeth is so imperishably connected with the magic genius of Shakespeare, that it is almost as difficult to disentangle the historic monarch — able, brave, and not irreligious — from the weird being of romance, as to picture the "meek and hoary Duncan" a young and gallant prince, cut off in the flower of his age." Note by the Translator, the Rev. Sir. D. O. Hunter-Blair, O. S. B. on p. 237, Vol. I, of Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church in Scotland.* Macbeth reigned seventeen years. Malcolm II. had put to death a son or grandson of Bede to secure, it would seem, Duncan's succession. So there was a sort of Nemesis in Macbeth's obtaining the crown, whose wife was Bede's daughter. St. Peregrinus was the son of St. Margaret of Scotland, whose remains minus the head lie buried in the Escurial, Spain, and of Malcolm III., the king who punished Macbeth. His second son Edmund by St. Margaret seems to be the one known as St. Peregrinus. There was an ancient chapel of his near the Seggio di Montagna, restored in 1380 by Charles III. of Naples. His body vested as a pilgrim having been found was solemnly re-interred in this church during this restoration. At present, says Taglialatela, there is a church dedicated to Sts. Peregrinus and Emilian and in it was found a tombstone bearing the names of two children of de Speio or Specchia, the biographer of the saint. Op. cit. p. 67, note.

Between those two dates it would appear that the first liquefaction must have taken place. Some objection however is taken to this testimony by the advocates for a much later date for the liquefaction, on the ground that Lupo de Specchio, the author of the Life of St. Peregrinus, wrote only about 1380 to 1450 and he may have unintentionally described this pilgrim saint as seeing the miracle because it was the custom to do so in his, the author's, own day. To this the reply is made that it is a gratuitous supposition: moreover he may have had access to documents now unknown to us, and the way he writes indicates that at least in his time "the liquefaction had occurred for so long that men ordinarily lost the memory of its commencement." Certainly Lupo's testimony is strong.

About the end of the ninth century the leading patrons were St. Agrippinus and St. Januarius. After the tenth we find them placed in this order, St. Januarius and St. Agrippinus, and this in a copy of the acts of the last named saint, wherein is described the liberation of the city from the assaults of the Saracens in 961. From then on our saint holds the primacy among the patrons as shown in some diplomas of Archbishop Sergius III. of 1183, and even he stands alone in one of 1187. We read also that the Cathedral is called after him in the formulary of Archbishop Hum-

bert, 1308, for beneficed priests, in which they promise to visit yearly the church of St. Januarius.[4] From all this pre-eminence we can infer that devotion to the saint had increased very rapidly during those centuries and seeking the cause we naturally conclude that it must be some manifestation of his power which was observed after 900 and before 1100 in round numbers. The manifestation was very likely the liquefaction of his blood. Its repetition would increase for a long time the fervor of the people towards the saint. The first liquefaction is placed around these ages by the Bollandists.

Some writers as said above, discrediting the testimony of Lupo de Specchio, contend strongly that the miracle did not take place until the fourteenth century,[5] but as we do not wish to delay any

[4] "Limina B. Januarii singulis annis personaliter visitabo, nisi præpeditus fuero canonica præpeditione. Sic me adjuvet Deus et Sancta Dei Evangelia." Il Formulario di Umberto Arcivescovo nel 1308. Tutini's *Memoric istoriche della vita . . . di S. G.* Naples, ed. 1710, p. 132.

[5] Silence about the blood in the ceremonies prescribed in 1337 shows indeed it was not carried in the procession but it would not disprove its liquefaction, for silence about the liquefaction is often noticed after the time when all admit the miracle to have occurred. Thus at the very time when some claim it first took place, i. e. the middle of the 14th century, there is no mention of it in any ecclesiastical regulations about the exposition of the relics. The Caspar di Diano, who about 1440 instituted twelve feasts in honor of St. Januarius, does not mention the liquefaction and this is a century after the date defended by the advocates of a comparatively late appearance of the wonder. Even in 1527 the vow to build a new Tesoro omits the miracle.

longer over a controversy which avails but little to our purpose, we simply remark that no documents of that century prove the liquefaction as first occurring then, neither do any of the succeeding century refer to it as something comparatively new, though writers flourished in both centuries and such a marvellous incident would arouse great excitement. But it may be objected the same answer is fatal to the claim for the tenth and eleventh centuries because no author mentions its first appearance or speaks of it as novel. It is true no author speaks of it in either of those two ways but in the tenth or eleventh centuries, centuries of continual wars and devastations, there were no writers; at least no manuscript of the time has come down to us. This dearth of authors is the only satisfactory explanation of how such an extraordinary phenomenon could make its appearance without its advent being heralded far and wide in trumpet tones. The silence of those centuries plead for them.[6]

[6] The very old pictures of the saint do not give the ampullæ: it is only in the XV. century they are found. Pictures of the so-called "dark ages" period are not in existence. According to Léon Cavène, author of *Le Célèbre Miracle de S. Janvier*, Paris, 1909, p. 119, who does not deny its earlier occurrence, the first liquefaction historically certain was in 1389, and for this assertion is offered a passage in an anonymous but acceptable Sicilian Chronicle, discovered and published by Joseph de Blasiis about twenty years ago. *Chronicon Siculum . . . .ab anno* 1340 *ad an.* 1396 *in forma diary*, etc., Naples, 1887.

CHAPTER VI

"Cæterum et mihi, vetustas res scribenti nescio quo pacto antiquus fit animus."— Tit. Liv.

SOME OLD TIME VISITORS AND A FEW MODERN ONES

Lupus de Specchio or de Speis, a Spanish writer of Valentia, who lived according to Mazzochi about the middle of the 15th century but according to Sabbatinus towards the end of the 14th, wrote a life of St. Peregrinus who visited Naples about the years 1100-1120.

"Venit St. Peregrinus Neapolim, quam veteres Parthenopem appellarunt, ad S. Januarii martyris quotidianum et insigne miraculum; ubi geminæ phialæ vitreæ parvulæ habent intra se ipsius martyris durum sanguinem sicut saxum: quæ cum ad caput ejusdem Martyris appropinquantur, subito liquescit sanguis in illis cum aliqua spumanti bullitione."

"St. Peregrinus came to Naples, which the ancients called Parthenope, to the daily and wonderful miracle of St. Januarius, martyr; where two small glass phials contain the martyr's blood hard as a rock; but when these are brought near the martyr's head the blood immediately liquefies in them with some foaming and bubbling."

From the Chronicle of Maraldus the Carthusian or his Continuator.[1]

[1] Though the liquefaction is not expressly mentioned this passage is sometimes brought forward in favor of

"Hoc anno MCXL Rogerius post coronationem suam Neapolim se contulit, et cives obviam illi occurrerunt contra portam Capuanam, et archiepiscopus urbis Neapolitanæ processionaliter eum recepit una cum Sanctorum reliquiis capite et sanguine S. Januarii, quas reverenter adoravit: quæ postmodum ad ecclesiam rediere."

"In this year, 1140, Roger, after his coronation, betook himself to Naples, and the citizens went forth to meet him at the Capuan Gate and the archbishop of the city of Naples received him with a procession, bearing the relics of the saints along with the head and blood of St. Januarius which he reverently honored: which afterwards they returned to the church."

Aneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who died as Pope Pius II. (b.1405:1458-1464), " a versatile and voluminous author, one of the best and most industrious of his period," in his commentaries which he wrote on a work entitled *De Dictis et Factis Alphonsi Regis Arragoniae* by Antonius Panormitanus, speaks of Naples as follows:[2]

the first liquefaction having taken place before the twelfth century or so and, dating but a few years after the year ascribed to the visit of St. Peregrinus, it confirms his seeing it and has some weight of its own. Mazocchi however claims the continuer of this chronicle lived in the fifteenth century or at least certainly after Charles II., but if he did and if he were describing things past as if they were of his own time he would probably have mentioned the liquefaction. It must however be said that Barth. Capasso in his *Le Fonti della Storia delle Provinvie Napolitane* dal 568–1500; Naples, 1902, p. 90, lists the " Breve Chronicon Monasterii St. Stephani de Nemore" attributed to Maraldus among apocryphal or dubious ones, a judgment we leave to skilled writers. Falco of Benevento was present at this same reception and relates it also, though he says nothing of the relics. This is a case where a mention would be strong confirmation but the omission has no special weight.

[2] Aneas Sylvius when Bishop of Siena was ambassador

"Vellem audisse, quidnam dixerit Andreas ubi Panormum rediit viso rege. Ego cum hinc abiero, si quis me roget quæ apud Neapolim scilicet digna memoratu, viderim; quatuor in primis respondebo, Neapolim. scilicet splendidam urbem. . . . apud Italiam nulli secundam: arcem regiam . . . multasque raræ magnitudinis naves; et cui talia quadrent, Alphonsum regem adjiciam. Et quinto loco . . . sacrum illum D. Januarii cruorem, quem modo concretum, modo liquatum, ostendunt, quamvis ante annos mille ducentos pro Christi nomine sit effusus."

"I would like to have heard what Andrew said when he returned to Palermo, having seen the king. When I go away from here (Naples), if anyone asks me what I have seen worth remembering at Naples I will answer four things, Naples itself a splendid city, second to none in Italy: the royal castle . . . and many vessels of a wonderful size and I will add Alphonsus the king with whom such things are in keeping. And in the fifth place, that holy blood of St. Januarius which is shown one time hard and another liquid although it was shed for the name of Christ twelve hundred years ago."

Angelus Cato an Italian philosopher and doctor of medicine who edited in 1474 the *Pandectes Medicinales* of Matthew Silvaticus of Salerno, writing in an introductory epistle about notable things at Naples, says:

"Quid dixero de D. Januarii martyris sanguine, qui Neapoli summa cum religione servatur? Quæ miracula nostro tempore Christi cultoribus ostenduntur, quæ sint hoc vel magis speciosa, vel magis eviden-

"What shall I say about the blood of the martyr St. Januarius which is preserved at Naples with the greatest reverence? What miracles are shown in our time to Christians which are more beautiful or more

at Naples in 1456 and during this time he wrote his notes on Antonius of Palermo or Il Panormita who had been his fellow-student at Siena.— Symond's *The Revival of Learning*, p. 254.

tia? Durescit absente capite, quod et idem servatur in æde metropolitana Neapolis. Quoties tamen capiti ostenditur liquefit perinde atque eo die fuerit, corpore effusus."

evident than this one? When the head which is itself preserved in the Cathedral is absent the blood is hard yet as often as it is shown to the head it becomes fluid just as if it had that very day been shed from the body."

Robert Gaguin, or some anonymous author, wrote *Le mer des Chroniques ou Mirouer Hystorial de France,* published in France in 1516 and in it he narrates, that Charles VIII in 1495 went to the Cathedral to see the Blood.[3]

"Dimanche troisième jour du Mois de Mai (le Roy) ouit sa messe à Sainct Genny. . . .' En cette Eglise fuit monstre au Roy le chef et sang du predit S. Genny . . . le quel estoit dur come pierre, mais apres que fuit ung peu posè su l'autel, il comenca incontinent a soy eschauffer et mollir, come ce fust le sang tiré recentement d'homme vivant."

"On Sunday the third day of May the king heard his mass at St. Januarius. . . . In this church there were shown to the king the head and the blood of the aforesaid St. Januarius . . . which was hard as stone, but after it had been placed a little while upon the altar, it commenced to grow warm and to soften as if it were blood just drawn from a living man."

Julian Passero who kept a diary tells us:[4]

[3] Robert Gaguin was a Trinitarian and was often employed by the monarchs of France on important business but had at length to regret though not so bitterly as Wolsey of serving princes and putting trust in them.—*Biographic Universelle,* new ed. Brussels, 1843–47, under name. Cf. Taglialatela, op. cit. p. 157.

[4] The Journal of Julian Passero was published by Mich. M. Vecchioni, Naples, 1785, p. 108.

Alli 6 di ottobre 1496 alle 21 ore si face un' altra processione molto più grande et de maggiore dignità, dove foro tutti li Barune et gentiluomini, donne et populane quante ne foro in Napoli, e tutte con torce allumate, et anco ce fu lo Archiepiscopo de Napoli, lo quale portai con detta processione la sangue di S. Gennaro con la testa di detta santo . . . et . . . la . . . sangue fu visto squagliato come se fosse stato un' acqua." . . ."

"On the 6th of Oct. 1496 at three o'clock a great procession took place in which all the Barons and gentlemen, ladies and people in Naples walked with lighted torches and also the Archbishop of Naples was present who carried the blood of St. Januarius with the saint's head . . . and . . . the blood was seen melted as if had been water."

John Francis Pico, nephew of the celebrated Pico della Mirandola, the Phœnix of his age, published a work *de Fide et ordine crendi theorimata* at Strasburg in 1504-6, and in it he speaks emphatically as follows:[5]

"Adservantur Neapoli in Campania Januarii martyris reliquiæ: et in vase sanguis, post ejus trucidationem pie collectus . . . Ego meis oculis cruorem illum, qui concretus et teter sua natura manet, objectu capitis rubescere, liquere et ceu ebullire, vidi, perinde acsi

"At Naples, Campania, are preserved the relics of Januarius and in a vase his blood piously gathered up after his execution. . . . I have seen with my own eyes that blood, which by its nature remains hard and offensive, at the sight of the head grow red, liquefy

[5] Some writers confound the less well-known John Francis Pico with his uncle the John Pico della Mirandola, Scaliger's *monstrum* (?) *sine vitio* and Machiavelli's *uomo quasi divino*, who seems to have been one of most gifted men of all time. His early death at thirty-one prevented his leaving many works to posterity. "Philosophy seeks truth, theology discovers it, religion possesses it," sums up in his own words his views on these three great subjects.

venis tum fuisset emissus. Vidi, inquam, meis oculis, et ratione comprehendi, opera naturæ fieri id minime posse . . ."

and as it were bubble, just as if then it had flowed from the veins. I have seen it I say with my own eyes and I understand by my reason that it could not happen by the work of nature . . ."

Not to make this list of witnesses from times past too long, the names of John Baptist Fregoso or Fulgosius, Doge of Venice, in his work, *Collectanea de dictis et factis memorabilibus,* published at Milan in 1509, of Stephen Vinandus Pighius, author of *Hercules Prodicus: Principie Juventutis Vita et Peregrinatio,* published 1587 will be but mentioned, others omitted, and the testimony of Cardinal Baronius introduced who in both the annotations of the Roman Martyrology and in his *Annales* ad annum 305, writes very clearly and positively of the liquefaction.[6]

The note to the 19th of Sept. in the Roman Martyrology runs in part:

"Porro insigne ac perenne miraculum sanguinis ejusdem S. Januarii, qui, cum ampulla vitrea concretus contineatur, liquescere tamen et fluere perinde acsi recens esset effusus, sæpe conspicitur non ejusmodi est, ut unius vel alterius hominis testimonio comprobatur, sed ita manifestum,

"Now the extraordinary and unceasing miracle of the blood of St. Januarius, which, though hard and kept in a glass ampulla, is often seen to liquefy and to flow just as if recently shed, is not of that kind that is proved by the testimony of this or that man but so manifest that the

[6] Baronius published his second and corrected edition of the Roman Martyrology in 1589. See *The Catholic Encyclopedia* under name.

ut ipse martyris sanguis assidua miraculorum operatione, vocibus quibusdam velut Abel sanguis clamans per universum orbem Christianum intonet."

martyr's blood itself by the continual working of miracles, crying aloud like Abel's blood with voices of its own, resounds throughout the whole Christian world."

The Blessed John Juvenal Ancina, one of St. Philip Neri's companions, who labored long in Naples and died bishop of Saluzzo, in 1604, beatified in 1890, had a great devotion to St. Januarius and urged the citizens to build the *Tesoro*.[7]

And as Benedict XIV was one of those men whom no reader can afford to skip without risking his own reputation for good judgment, it will be well to add that he defended the liquefaction "as a great and true miracle which has not one or two witnesses but all Italy or more correctly the whole Christian world"; and to come down close to our times at one step, the geologist Stoppani, who visited Naples in May, 1871, in company with the students of the Istituto Superiore of Milan, wrote to another professor after seeing the solid blood grow perfectly liquid: "as for me I have had enough to convince me that here there is question of a fact that does not come under the common laws of nature, is inexplicable by science and therefore is supernatural."[8] Pope Pius IX saw the blood liquefied in 1849, the year of his residence at Gaeta.

[7] Bowden — *Life of B. John Juvenal Ancina*, London, 1891, p. 99.

[8] Taglialatela, Op. cit. p. 171.

CHAPTER VII

"We will relate Thy wondrous works: the earth is melted."—Ps. 74, 2.

ST. JANUARIUS AND THE FLAMING MOUNT

There is in the *Tesoro* a picture by Domenichino representing the Son of God, and at first glance one sees in his eyes the threatening light of his despised justice but when observed closer this seems to pass into a smile of pardon. Why? The Virgin Mary shows him the works of piety of the Neapolitans and especially the vials of the blood of St. Januarius, while a little angel is slyly taking away from the hand of the Son of God the sword of justice and another little angel hovers near with a sheath to cover it up. Truly the Neapolitans, if history is the teacher of truth, have reason to be grateful to heaven and their renowned patron who has so often protected them from heresies, plagues and above all from the burning assaults of the demon of fire who seems to dwell in Mount Vesuvius.

Vesuvius is the most celebrated and best known volcano in the world and has long served as an

object lesson in subterranean pyrology. Seated alone as if it despised other mountains and not so much an ornament to the world as a terror, it exercises a sort of fascination on the imagination and to see it, even when almost quiescent yet always waving its plume of smoke by day as if in defiance or in warning, and at night revealing its restless repose by the glare of its sleepless eye suggesting a giant Polyphemus reclining near the coast, creates an impression destined to never fade from memory and arouses thoughts of what that awful last day will bring forth when "the heavens shall pass away with great violence and the elements shall be melted with heat and the earth and the works which are in it shall be burnt up." (2. St. Peter, 3, 10)

For long years before the coming of Christ it seems to have slumbered so quietly that people cultivated their farms up to the summit as unsuspectingly as Sinbad built a fire upon the sleeping island, and our school-day friend, the ex-gladiator Spartacus, found refuge in the very socket of its lifeless eye. Then about sixteen years before the memorable date of 79 it grew restless and moaned and tossed uneasily, as if waking from a too deep repose, until fully awake and aroused it burst forth into that tremendous explosion of wrath and destruction which slew thousands of people, ruined the whole Campania, overwhelmed

Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Stabiae and other towns and burned a date upon history's page that successive ages will never see obscured. One ancient writer has his name inseparably connected with that paroxysmal catastrophe because he lost his life, another because he penned a brilliant account of it and a modern one bids fair to achieve a respectable immortality because he painted a striking picture of it and caused a drama to be enacted in its foreground. The two Plinies and Lytton are names easy to recall in connection with Vesuvius.

The pine-tree shaped cloud of smoke, steam and dust which Vesuvius hoists when at war gave way to the plume of peace which continued to wave for long centuries with only two marked exceptions, and these would have passed into history almost unnoticed were it not for their connection with a martyr who had defied fire in his lifetime and who after death continued to fight it with marvellous success.

Sir William Temple has well remarked that many eruptions, which otherwise would have passed unobserved were it not for sacred images, like the veil of St. Agatha in Sicily, St. Januarius in Naples, to stop them have thus been preserved for our knowledge.[1] True but were they not

[1] "In 253 during an eruption of Mt. Etna lava flowed towards Catania. The veil of St. Agatha, martyred the

made insignificant by these same saintly interferences?

The first of these notable exceptions was in 471 and the second in 685. Concerning the earlier one Marcellinus Comes wrote in his *Chronicle* under the year 471: "Vesuvius a burning mountain of Campania, raging with internal fires cast forth its burnt refuse and overspreading the day with nocturnal darkness, covered the whole face of Europe with fine dust. At Constantinople the memory of this dangerous rain of ashes is yearly kept on the 6th of November."

In an old Neapolitan office is found the following lesson:

"Mount Vesuvius, placed near Naples for the punishment of wicked men, began to shake with great convulsions and to vomit forth unexpectedly, globes of fire which devastated the neighboring cities. The Neapolitans struck with terror, ran weeping to the church of St Januarius, whilst the hot ashes were falling fast and covering the ground so that the very earth seemed almost on fire. Deprived of all hope they found rest neither by day nor by night; the great church was resounding with the hoarse cries of men and the piercing shrieks of women. Some cast themselves in the dust on the ground bemoaning their sins, some tore their cheeks with their nails and others in the public squares implored with outstretched arms the help of heaven through the intercession of the

year before was wrought before the descending lava and it at once stopped." Rodwell's *Etna*, 1878, p. 83.

Holy Martyr, and so indeed by the prayers of the Holy Martyr the fiery eruption of Mt. Vesuvius was extinguished."

It is a disputed point to which eruption this extract has reference, some claiming it for that of 471 and others for the outburst of 685. From a line in the Roman Martyrology edited by Baronius, under date of Sept. 19, he credits it to 471 but there are not wanting reasons in favor of 685. As the exact date is of little moment we pass it over, only remarking that the statement of Tutini that the head of the Saint was carried in procession during the eruption of 685 has apparently no historical foundations accessible in these days. The *Homily on the Miracles of St. Januarius,* written apparently before the translation of his remains to Beneventum and hence of considerable age, omits the year and the carrying of the head when treating of the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius.

An old medal with Latin and Greek inscriptions was struck in honor of the Saint as a deliverer from fire and it may date back at least to 685, as it seems quite probable that such a medal would not be struck except after deliverance from some threatening destruction by fire, and any other early and notable danger is not on record.

After 685, Vesuvius seemed enfeebled and gave little signs of life for some centuries so that once more men ascended its sides and planted and cul-

tivated their vines right up to the summit and even descended with impunity within its very jaws which opened out to form a circle almost five miles in circumference, and they were "hung with trees and brushwood and at their base stretched a wide grassy plain on which cattle grazed and where the wild boar lurked in the thickets. The central tract was a lower plain covered with loose ashes and marked by a few pools of hot and saline water." This long repose recruited its strength and after the usual preliminary growlings and shakings which lasted nearly six months, the old mountain, far from decrepit, burst forth once more in magnificent, terrific, death-dealing and uncontrollable phenomena; but here we prefer to quote a passage from the eloquent pen of Bishop Lynch:

"Naples has often been violently shaken, and sometimes seriously injured; has often been in imminent peril but never was utterly destroyed. This brilliant capital, uniting in herself all that Italian taste admires of beauty and luxury, lives with a sword of Damocles ever suspended over her. Each night as they retire the Neapolitans may shudder if they cast a thought on the possible horror of the night they have entered on or what the morrow may bring them.

"But men become callous even to such dangers as these, when often threatened and seldom felt. We can conceive how thoroughly all thought of them had died out in 1631, when Vesuvius, in a long unbroken sleep of one hundred and ninety-four years, had allowed six

generations of Neapolitans to grow up and pass to their graves without any experience of its power. Earthquakes, explosions, flames, smoke, and streams of fire were all forgotten. Towns and villages, and gardens and vineyards, were dotting the base of the mountain or climbing its pleasant and fertile slopes. And among the many and charming scenes in the neighborhood of Naples, there were then none more sweet and charming than those of the narrow tract between the city and Mount Vesuvius.

"So it was on the morning of Tuesday, the 16th of December, 1631. Yet fair as was the scene on which the sun rose that day, it was to be greatly changed ere night. Early in the morning the citizens were startled and somewhat alarmed by a very perceptible tremulousness of their earth under their feet. It increased in violence as the hours rolled on, and the atmosphere too, December though it was, became sultry and close. The inhabitants of the beautiful villas and the farmers and country laborers, who had felt the trembling of the earth and the closeness of the atmosphere more sensibly than the citizens, and who saw at once that it was caused by the mountain, commenced to flee with their families for safety into the city. About 9 a. m. a cry of afright went up from the city and the country, as suddenly the mountain shook and roared as if in agony. All eyes turned to the summit of Vesuvius, only yesterday so fair and green. A huge turbid cloud of smoke was seen swiftly springing upward from its cone toward the sky. High up, it spread out like the top of a mighty pine or palm. The lightning flashed through this rolling, surging, ever-increasing mass as it rapidly expanded on every side. By 11 a. m. Naples lay under the dark and fearful cloud which shut out the

heavens and darkened the day. The incessant trembling of the earth was perceptibly increasing in violence. Men felt that they were at the beginning of they knew not what terrible tragedy, before which they felt themselves utterly powerless.

The ever-open churches were soon crowded with fear-stricken suppliants. The cardinal archbishop at once directed services to be commenced in them all, and to be continued without intermission. In the hours of the afternoon there would be a procession through the streets near the cathedral, in which the relics of St. Januarius would be borne. Men prayed to be spared from the impending doom. The trembling earth might open to swallow them; the tottering houses might fall and crush them; or the mountain, whose sullen roar, like that of an angry monster, they heard amid and above all other sounds, might destroy them in some other more fearful way. They prayed and did penance, like the Ninivites of old. They sought to prepare their souls for the death which might come to many of them.

"To the gloom and horrors of the dark cloud of smoke, spread as a funeral pall over the city, was added, later in the day, a pouring rain. The water came down heated and charged with volcanic ashes. Night arrived more terrible than the day. The continuous trembling of the earth had indeed ceased; but, instead, there came sharp, quick shocks of earthquake, four or five of them every hour, vastly increasing the danger of those who remained in their houses. Out-of-doors was the pouring rain and the intense darkness, rendered more fearful by the intermittent electric flashings of the cloud overhead. The few oil-lamps in the streets gave little light; some had not been lighted,

others had been extinguished. The narrow streets sounded with shrieks of alarm and prayer for mercy. They were filled with those who chose rather the darkness, the rain, and the mud under foot, than the danger within their own chambers. And all through the city might be described entire families grouped together, and, by the light of torches or lanterns, making their way to some church — for all through the terrible hours of that long night, the churches still remained open and thronged, and the services still continued. Day came at length, if the dim misty light could be called day. It brought no relief beyond its saddening twilight. All hearts were depressed and filled with gloomy foreboding. All felt that only by the mercy of God could they be rescued.

"At 10 a. m. there came two shocks of earthquake severer than any that had preceded them. The waters of the bay twice receded, leaving a portion of the harbor bare, and twice rolled back furiously, rushing over the piers and quays, and passing into the lower streets of the city. A hoarse and violent roar was heard from the mountain. It was soon known that the sea of lava within its bowels had burst for itself a channel-way out through the northern side and was pouring down in a rapid stream, widening its front as it spread into several branches and advancing directly towards the city. *Portico* and *Resina,* near the mountain, or rather on its lower slope were seen quickly to perish. Portions of *Torre del Greco* and of *Torre dell 'Annunziata* shared the same fate. It seemed to the affrighted Neapolitans, as they looked on the fiery streams pouring onward, resistless and inflexible, in their course of destruction, that death was coming to them by fire,

more terrible far than death by water or by earthquake.

"Meanwhile the hour at last arrived fixed for the day's procession. The archbishop was to take part in it and would himself bear the reliquary of the blood of St. Januarius. The clergy of the city would precede and accompany him and the municipal authorities would walk in procession behind. Thousands were in the cathedral and would follow after and tens of thousands crowded the streets through which its route lay. A common feeling filled all hearts alike; they prayed earnestly, if ever they did — for their lives and their homes, their all was at stake.

"The rain had ceased but the dark cloud still hung overhead and the ashes were still falling and the air was close and sulphurous. As the procession issued from the cathedral and while the archbishop stood yet in the square in front of it, a blaze of sunlight beamed around. The sun itself they did not see but his beams found some rift in the mass of smoke surging overhead and struggled through, throwing for a few moments, a glow of golden effulgence down on the cathedral and on the square and the groups that stood or knelt within it. The effect was electric. "It is a miracle! our prayers are heard!" was the cry that burst from the multitude. In a few moments the light was gone; but, with cheered and hopeful hearts, the procession moved on, through the crowded streets to the gate of the city, looking directly towards Vesuvius and the advancing streams of lava. Here an altar had been prepared in the open air, psalms were chanted, prayers and litanies succeeded and the archbishop, ascending the steps of the altar, stood on the platform and holding aloft the

reliquary of the blood, made with it the sign of the cross towards the blazing mountain and all prayed that God, through the intercession of their great patron saint, would avert the dreaded and dreadful calamity.

"Ere the archbishop descended from the altar all were aware that an east wind had sprung up and that the smoke, ashes and cinders were being blown away over the sea. The mountain grew calmer and at once ceased to pour forth such immense supplies of molten lava. The dreadful stream no longer fed from the copious fount soon slackened — its movement ceased to advance towards them — and before their eyes was seen to grow cold and solid and dark. When the procession on its return reached the cathedral, the sun was shining brightly and cheerfully. Well might they close with a solemn *Te Deum* for Naples was saved. Outside of the city, five thousand men, women and children had perished and ruin was spread everywhere; within the city, not one building had fallen, not one life had been lost.

"The eruption continued for some months after, but in a moderated form. The danger to the city was not renewed." [2]

A peculiar feature of this volcanic display was the torrents of water which issued from the mountain, some flowing to the sea and others carrying their destructive action for miles into the country around about, where in some places it reached a height of ten feet. And likewise the enormous quantities of water which fell during

[2] *Catholic World*, Vol. 13, p. 778.

the outburst and for months afterwards. Apart from the electric flashes there were also great sheets of flame arising from the gases liberated which took fire on issuing from the crater. The reader may recollect the amount of gas noticed in the eruption of Mt. Pelee.

"During that day of the 17th, as was learnt later, the ashes covered immense regions and everywhere caused astonishment and fear. The cloud passed over the Adriatic and Dalmatia on its way east. Ashes fell in Montenegro, some places four fingers thick, in the Island of Negroponte, and the gulf of Volo, on the east side of Thessaly and even at Constantinople where the prodigy excited great terror." The outburst of the lava might be described as a blowing off of the top of the mountain which was diminished in height about 600 feet, so that Monte Somma, before simply the second point in height was left the highest.

"That beautiful Campania, with its pleasant sky, its air so salubrious, was only a frightful desert covered with lava, alluviums, ashes and stones. The entire vegetation had disappeared, destroyed or covered with sandy stuff. A great number of dead bodies of animals was lying on these gloomy plains, infecting the air with their putrid emanations and here and there a little smoke, rising up from lava half cooled, was the only sign of movement in this vast field of death." [3]

Field of death indeed where according to some over 18,000 persons had perished: and Naples untouched!

[3] Le Hon. H.— *Histoire Complète de la Grande Éruption da Vésuve de* 1631. Brussels, 1865, p. 17. *Omaggio*, p. 46.

No wonder the inhabitants were grateful and built the church above mentioned at *Torre del Greco,* close enough to one of the streams of lava, and placed an inscription upon the church of *St. Januarius outside the walls,* erected an obelisk in front of the cathedral and in many other places and ways left signs of their heartfelt gratitude. The 16th of December, formerly a day in honor, became after the memorable year of 1632, one of the great feasts of the Saint, the Feast of the Patronage of St. Januarius.

When Cardinal Pignatelli was archbishop, nephew of Innocent XII once archbishop of Naples also, an eruption took place in the year 1707 towards the end of July and it was accompanied by such streams of lava, clouds of smoke and ashes, and wrought so much damage that the city itself feared for its safety and there were re-enacted in the streets the scenes of seventy-five years earlier, when people knelt and confessed their sins aloud to the priests whom sometimes they caught and held by force until they received absolution, an action of theirs which made the famous astronomer, the Jesuit Father Riccioli, remark, that during those two or three days, the fiery tongue of Vesuvius had converted more sinners than all the Neapolitan preachers in a hundred years. This time they were under the fervent exhortations of another Jesuit, St. Francis

di Geronimo, and all went in procession to the Capuan Gate as their ancestors had done, carrying the bust of St. Januarius which was placed so as to command a view of the burning mountain and the usual marvel followed — the darkness disappeared, the fire grew slack and the evening of a terrific and gloomy day was bright, calm and tranquil. In memory thereof a monument was built where the temporary altar of 1632 and 1707 had stood.

Again in 1769 the restless mountain caused alarm and acted with so much violence that the populace lost control of themselves and went and demanded of the Archbishop Filangieri, that he bring out the head of the saint to calm the frightful uproar of the volcano.[4] As he seemed to hesitate the multitude in their frenzy actually attempted to set fire to the gates of his residence. Padre Rocco, however, who exercised a wonderful power over them, brought them to a better state of mind and on the day following a procession wended its way this time to the Ponte della Maddelena. But we have already seen on a previous page with what marvellous result, and the

[4] "In the night of the 20 Oct. 1767, the occasion became critical. Prisoners attempted to escape and the mob set fire to the gates of the Cardinal Archbishop because he refused to bring out the relics of St. Januarius." At length the head of the martyr was brought out and down to the Ponte Maddelena "and it is well attested here that the eruption ceased the moment the saint came in sight of the mountain." Phillip's *Vesuvius*, 1859, p. 45.

monument commemorating the gratitude of the citizens.

There have been other outbreaks and eruptions, notably those in 1769, 1794, and 1822 when the height was lowered again by about 800 feet, and lately Vesuvius has not been as indolent as during the past fifty years but no phenomena more striking than usual has occurred until lately.

So much attention has been given to the long duel between the saint and the mountain that it must not be forgotten that he has manifested his favor towards his fellow-citizens by other wonders, such as the cure of the sick, the obtaining spiritual and temporal benefits, the raising from the dead two children, this last being recorded in the ancient homily on his miracles, and the deliverance of the city from pestilence, famine and earthquakes.[5]

Mount Vesuvius is no mean antagonist and though subdued more than once, he is like Lucifer, too proud to yield. From time to time he breaks forth and attempts to destroy Naples but always so far without success, and may be it will always be so, until the signal is given for the final day, and then he will be allowed to rush upon the prey which has so often escaped his tremendous power and Naples will call in vain for the first time upon their beloved St. Januarius.

[5] Boll, p. 785.

CHAPTER VIII

"And they rejoice exceedingly when they have found the grave."—Job, 3, 22.

HISTORY OF THE HEAD — HISTORY OF THE BLOOD — HOW AND WHERE THEY ARE PRESERVED

HISTORY OF THE HEAD.

Many a conqueror has won an earthly crown by the sword, but St. Januarius gained a heavenly one; yet even in this world his head is encircled by a love and veneration surpassing any shown to a mere monarch's. At first the head was buried with the body. We can assume this with certainty as the early Christians desired their bodies buried intact as did their Pagan forbears, and even the example of saints like Ignatius the Martyr did not affect much the great mass of the faithful no more than did the words of Virgil and Cicero change the bulk of the Pagans.[1] The fate of the individual after death was thought to be

[1] ". . . facilis jactura sepulchri." Æneid. II, 646. "Threaten that to your courtiers. It is of no consequence to Theodorus whether he rot in the earth or in the air," replied Theodorus, a philosopher, to Lysimachus. *Tusc. Disp.*, I, 43, cf. St. Augustine, *City of God*, Book I. C. 12.

bound up with his body and even many Christians feared to rise again with imperfect corporeal temples.[2] The Romans, outside of a few special cases and occasionally in times of persecution, were tolerant about burials even of criminals and always showed great respect to tombs.[3] The acts of St. Fructuosus and the famous epitaph of Abercius bear witness to this desire that their remains should not be scattered and so also do the anathemas found on grave stones, Christian and heathen, against violators of the repose of the dead.

The date at which the head began to be preserved apart from the body is not known. Some think it was when the remains were deposited in the church *extra muros:* if so, the date would be that accepted for this translation, namely, around the beginning of the fourth century. Others

"He who has no tomb has the sky for his vault" Lucan. *Pharcalia* VII, 819. "Magis blandite bestiis ut mihi sepulchrum sint, et nihil reliquant de meo corpore" *Ep. to Romans,* 40, "Rather entice the beasts that they may be a sepulchre for me and leave nothing of my body." Only the larger bones were left.

[2] "Hæc omnis, quam cernis, inops inhumataque turba est."

Æneid. VI, 325. The Pagans feared that the manes would wander around disconsolate if their bodies did not receive proper interment.

[3] Sometimes indeed they forbade the interment of Martyrs, Eusebius tells us in his *Church History,* Vol. I, p. 54, and we can see it for ourselves in the acts of St. Tarachus where the governor threatened to prevent the gathering of their relics.

claim the head was not removed until sometime after the transfer of the remains but as this is ascribed to different bishops there is in reality no good proof for any date, except that it can be maintained no separation took place in the immediate centuries after the peace of Constantine, as the feeling against the division of bodies was too strong. Constantine himself indeed was the first even to remove holy bodies

"Constantino primum sub Cæsare factum est,"

but in the West they thought differently and St. Gregory I wrote about the end of the sixth century that he could scarcely believe what he had heard of the Greeks that they moved the bones of the saints, and that it was intolerable even to touch them, and when asked for relics he sent oils taken from the lamps burning before shrines and sent them to Theodulinda, Queen of the Lombards, as relics: to which good act we owe the precious ampullae of Monza and an interesting list of saints. There were exceptions, however, especially when the intention was to honor the remains by more fitting locations, and gradually towards the end of the seventh century the tide turned so completely that at times relics were captured or even stolen with equal zeal.

No difficulty need arise from the thought that perhaps the head would naturally be left with the trunk, because heads of martyrs after the seventh

century were often enough taken away to be honored elsewhere, as we see in the case of Sts. Peter and Paul whose heads were venerated in St. John Lateran while their bodies rest in their respective basilicas. We know, however, for certain that the head remained in Naples when the body was captured as a war prize by Duke Sico and brought in triumph to Benevento. The Acta Puteolana of the ninth or tenth century state distinctly the head was at Naples after the transfer to Benevento. All we can conclude further from the known documents in existence is that in the twelfth and thirteenth century, when the cathedral if not actually dedicated to him was at least called after the saint, his head was there beyond any reasonable doubt. In 1305 or 6, that is almost two hundred years before the remains were returned from Monte Vergine, Charles II. of Anjou, "a pious and religious king" Chiocarelli terms him, caused, perhaps as a thanksgiving for his liberation from prison, a life-sized bust of silver covered with gold to be made, to contain with more respect and reverence the precious relic of the skull. In this it has ever since reposed. The account of the amount of gold and silver furnished from the royal treasury "to our well beloved, our royal goldsmith," is still to be read in the ancient records of the kingdom.[4]

[4] *Reg. Ann.*, 130, Fol., 115.

"In the archiepiscopal diary relative to St. Januarius under the date, 13th of September, 1660, there is a long account stating that, it being perceived that the relics inside this bust had become somehow displaced — as well they might after 325 years — the cardinal-archbishop on that day in the presence of all requisite witnesses, had the bust opened by a goldsmith; himself reverently took out the relics and held them in his hands until the goldsmith had repaired the damage; that his eminence then reverently replaced the relics properly sealed and had the bust closed as before and in all this carefully observed the prescriptions of canon law. Since then everything has been untouched." [5]

HISTORY OF THE BLOOD.

That it was the pious custom of Christians to gather the blood of martyrs whenever possible we know from history. This is indeed what we would naturally expect. If in Pagan Rome, the blood of gladiators was once gathered and preserved as an amulet, why not the blood of those glorious champions who strengthened by divine grace contended manfully and laid down their lives heroically for Christ? It would be preserved the more readily by the faithful not only because they hoped to obtain special protection from heaven owing to veneration shown to objects connected with the friends of God, but also from motives of admiring love and friendship to the victims of idolatrous hate. In their expecta-

[5] *Cath. World,* XIII, p. 778.

tion of heavenly favors they had the example of the first Christians who as related in the *Acts of the Apostles,* Chapter the 19th, "seeing that God wrought by the head of Paul more than common miracles, brought from his body to the sick, handkerchiefs and aprons, and the diseases departed from them and the wicked spirits went out from them." Here it had only pleased God to repeat what the world might have read regarding the mantle of Elias in the second chapter of the Fourth Book of Kings (Second in James' Version), where Eliseus divides the waters by it, and concerning the bones of the same prophet Eliseus in the thirteenth chapter where we read that when the dead body touches the bones, the man came to life and stood upon his feet.

Baronius tells us of the practice and we see by the acts of St. Cyprian, which score a very high percentage under the critics' examination, that the Christians spread napkins and handkerchiefs on the ground to receive his blood and Prudentius in his *Peristephanon,* a collection of hymns in honor of the martyrs written by himself, shows us the faithful gathering up by sponges all the blood of St. Hyppolytus martyred in the year 252 under Decius. This hymn is good evidence of the custom whether the poet be narrating or merely painting a picture.

Often the blood was put into small bottles of

glass or other material and these were sometimes deposited in tombs or placed on the outside in the fresh mortar as has been observed repeatedly in the Roman Catacombs and sometimes they were brought home and cherished as heirlooms as we see in the same work just quoted, where Prudentius sings:

"Plerique vestem lineam
Stillante tingunt sanguine
Tutamen ut sacrum suis
Domi reservent posteri."

"To preserve at home each dips
Some linen in the blood that drips,
For self and children to become
An heirloom and palladium."

What was done with clothes stained with saintly blood would be likely done with phials filled with the precious liquid.

The use to which the blood thus gathered was put was multiplex. It was preserved as a relic and as a protection as we have just seen. It was also used at least at times to anoint their own head and breast by the faithful as we read in the Bollandists, Jan. 19, Oct. 19, and martyrs themselves have been found thus fortified by the blood of martyrs who preceded them in combat. Apparently it was deposited sometimes either in or outside tombs as a safe-guard to the remains and out of devotion to the saints. Well known is the ardent desire in early days that the faithful had to have their graves close to the last resting-

place of martyrs and when this could not be, they had at least relics buried with them. "Some built sanctuaries to prepare for themselves a tomb: they covered the corpses with altar cloths: venerated remains were placed near them and in the sepulchres itself, holy water, crosses, holy books, hosts, relics were there to guard the faithful who fell asleep in the Lord." [6] Ampullae containing blood were also placed in connection with other signs such as palm leaves, inscriptions, etc., to indicate the last resting place of martyrs; though concerning this assertion there rages a controversy not yet settled.

That all the little phials or vases found attached to or in the *loculi* or tombs in the catacombs contained blood we do not affirm. They have been found in Jewish cemeteries but neither this fact nor the other one that they have been found at tombs of a period much later than the era of persecutions would *a priori* prove they did not contain blood, though both these facts would militate against their presence as a sign of martyrdom. That some found in connection with Christian tombs held blood cannot reasonably be denied. The simple experiment by which Leibnitz proved the reddish residue in such ampullae to be blood may not be accepted to-day if standing alone; but the experiment by Broglia in 1845,

[6] *Dict. d'Arch. Chret.* Ad Sanctos, p. 502.

notwithstanding an adverse criticism on one point; the testimony of Bosio as to finding congealed blood which when watered appeared like fresh blood; of Arginghi to the same effect; of Michael de Rossi after a chemical and microscopic examination of a phial containing such red matter, and finally that of the great archaeologist de Rossi himself are sufficient to convince us that some such ampullae have been found which contained blood and that this blood would be that of martyrs, de Rossi says, no one of sound mind would question.

Some of the phials have had Eucharistic Wine according to Fr. de Buck the Bollandist and in the light of the pyxes and chalices found not empty in tombs in Germany and England, this theory cannot be lightly rejected; though maybe this custom was of a later date than the era of persecution. That some of them also contained martyr's blood to guard the grave of non-martyrs as mentioned above is maintained by Le Blant and Le Clerq seems to favor the same view.[7] R. X. Kraus taught that the phials unmarred by reddish tinge had been receptacles of holy water [8] and as to the other class he defended an ingenious theory by which the tombs of martyrs

[7] *Dict. d'Arch. Chret.* Ampoules de Sang, p. 1747, etc., where the question is treated at considerable length.

[8] *Über den. . . . Stand der Frage der Rom. Blutampullen, Freiburg,* 1872, p. 28.

not yet recognized as such by the Church or as the term has it, not yet vindicated, *non-vindicati,* were marked by the ampullæ of blood placed on the outside during the hurried days of persecution until an opportunity would be given for a decision.[9] The reader will remember that not all who gave their lives for their faith were honored as martyrs, as for example those who pulled down pagan statues, an act also forbidden by Church authorities, and thus were punished as for a violation of law.

Because the Congregation of Indulgences and Relics declared in 1688 that a palm and a vase stained with blood could be regarded if found on a tomb as certain signs of a martyr, it has been a source of childish delight to certain writers to prove that a palm scratched or sculptured on a tombstone was no sure sign of a martyr: also that some of these small vases did not contain blood but something else and therefore they were no sure sign either. At the time that decision was given it was in accordance with the best knowledge of the day and even yet, after all that has been written and done on the subject, he would be more positive than prudent who would declare absolutely that a grave of the time of persecution marked with a palm or with an ampulla contain-

[9] *Die Blutampullen der Rom. Katakomben,* Frankfurt, 1868, p. 66. *Kirchen Lexicon* art. Ampullen.

ing *blood* did not inclose a martyr's body, except he had some very clear testimony to the contrary. In 1863 the congregation answered affirmatively to the question whether ampullæ so marked and found at grave are to be regarded as signs of a martyr, but it is one thing to state that a thing is a sign, another to declare that such a sign is sufficient in itself, and still another to prove the ampulla contained blood. H. de l'Epinois wrote in 1875: "Useless to state here that this is not a decision *ex-cathedra,* that is to say, not an infallible one." Useless, indeed, in the eyes of intelligent men but not useless for those whose eyesight is rendered astigmatic by the faulty curvature induced by bigotry, of which we have an example in the writer in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (art. Catacombs), who exulted so much in the assumed victory over the Roman Congregation that he even calls the decision of this minor Congregation an infallible utterance! Such ignorance is not so astounding as it is malicious and shows how lovers of truth must seek with great caution for information about the Church and kindred subjects in that useful work even in its latest and amplified form.

This whole question of the blood-ampullæ is still in a very unsettled condition and will remain so until some old clarifying documents are brought to light or some ancient light-diffusing

monuments are unearthed.[10] As far as our subject is concerned the facts that martyr's blood was so gathered and that some phials containing blood have been found are amply sufficient for our purpose.[11]

Who gathered our saint's blood is unknown. According to one tradition of no great antiquity it was his old nurse and according to another of equal youth, a devout matron of Naples. That it was so gathered there is no reason whatever to doubt. The same was certainly done for his companions, though history is dumb about the after-fate of their phials.

Was the blood buried with the body? This question cannot be answered definitely as the old documents are silent on this point. Conjectures possessing some probability are all that can be offered.

[10] Msgr. Anton de Waal says that: it is now universally held by scholars that these vessels contained pungent essences intended to counteract the odor of the decay perceptible in the galleries of the catacombs, "and seems to give up the blood-theory completely." *Catholic Encyc.* art. Catacombs. No authorities or new facts are given.

[11] The experiments made at Greenwich, in 1860, on the debris of about sixty ampullæ were excellent in so far as they determine, more or less correctly, the amount of iron in old glass but the chemists seem to have struck the remains of every empty ampullæ; indeed, the first line of their verdict reads: "This deposit is not on the glass but throughout it; often outside as well as inside." "*Die Blutampullen*," p. 25 and 71. In some numbers of the *Rambler* (1859–61), and its short-lived successor, the *Home and Foreign Review*, there are lively articles on the entire subject.

Holding the ampullæ to be a sign for the identification of a martyr, one would be inclined to say, the blood was buried with the body. Yet if the ampullæ were to be an external sign, i. e., placed not in but outside the tombs, a doubt might spring up in this case as the first burial was by night, in haste and not in a *loculus* or tomb visible like those in catacombs or regularly constructed sepulchres. The sign could of course have been so placed as to be readily found by those who knew the secret of the grave and not in sight of every passerby. If the dawn of a better day was soon expected they might have retained them, awaiting its near approach to reunite the blood with the body; or if dark days seemed endless they would have buried them according to their supposed use, hoping that others at a later and happier date would find and honor the remains as those of a martyr. If the ampullæ were to be an internal sign, i. e., placed in the grave itself, they might have done so, but it can be doubted that they did so for reasons which will appear in the next paragraph. The Bollandists, who hesitate not about the head, think the blood also buried but their thought admittedly is based upon the identification-idea of the phials.

Holding the blood to have been gathered to be cherished as a relic, one would say they were

not buried with the body. The peculiar shape of the phials, if they be the originals, would perhaps tend to confirm this view. It has been objected that the other Christians would not have permitted one of their number to appropriate such a treasure, but it is of little weight and if the pious woman was the saint's nurse or a Neapolitan matron and maybe a relative of the saint, who would have prevented her?

The suggestion that the blood was not deposited with the body but joined to it when the first translation took place can be rejected on the ground that the liquefaction, always precluding that Divine Providence did not purposely delay the miracle, would then have occurred whether the head was present or not, since the blood has liquefied in presence of a relic other than the head: in which case it would scarcely be put out of sight. If, however, it be maintained that it was either buried or joined later to the body, the question arises, how it was apart before Sico's attack in 817? and to the probable answer, that, as the head was removed, the blood might be, the reply is, that it is very improbable because in such circumstances there would be almost inevitably conjunction and subsequent liquefaction, and we have seen that the latter did not occur before 920 at the earliest.[12]

[12] Caracciolo in his *De Sacris Ecc. Neapol. Monumentis,*

Considering then the question apart from all the various reasons why ampullæ were placed in or near the tombs of early Christians,[13] it can be accepted for the present that this blood was not with the head nor with the body until six or seven centuries had passed by, because no trace of liquefaction has been found during that period. This supposition is not an unreasonable one and moreover, though it does not solve the mystery in which the first liquefaction is enshrouded, it offers a fair theory why the wonder did not happen earlier. Where then was the blood? Somewhere in Naples or its vicinity, either as an heirloom or as a protection in or on some grave or as a precious relic in some church or simply forgotten in the course of ages.[14] Though the

Neapoli, 1645, in the chapter given to our saint quotes Fabius Jordanus or Giordanus, a writer on Mt. Vesuvius who declares that the head and blood were carried in a procession during an eruption which was extinguished through the merits of St. Januarius, and this eruption, Caracciolo places in the year, 685; but how much confidence this merits is a question. It could be accepted readily as far as the head is concerned, but with great difficulty as regards the blood. The Roman Martyrology mentions them but the lines were inserted by Baronius.

[13] It has been suggested that the blood-ampullæ were simply a means of gathering together all the remains of a martyr. While not devoid of all probability this suggestion can be set aside in view of the many facts which contradict it. If it were adopted in this case it would of course go to show that the blood was buried with the body.

[14] Relics were often forgotten in the lapse of years. St. Stephen's blood which is listed among those that liquefy is said to have lain unnoticed for a thousand years.

blood be not alluded to in the ceremonial of Archbishop Ursino's time, (1337) the peculiarity of that ceremony has most probably some relation to the discovery of the blood or at least to the first appearance of its marvellous phenomena, the date of which has already been discussed.

WHERE THE HEAD AND THE BLOOD ARE PRESERVED.

Sunk in the thickness of the solid external wall behind the high altar in the chapel of St. Januarius commonly called *Il Tesoro,* there are two cupboards side by side, but not communicating with one another and having no opening but the doors. Each measures about three feet four inches in height, two feet in width and sixteen inches in depth. The walls are covered with damask and are of wood except the dividing one between the two, which is of metal and the flooring of silver. The doors of silver, a gift in 1667 of Charles II. of Spain, have each two strong locks, four in all, of which one is in the upper part and one in the lower part of each door. The keys four in number also are kept, the two for the upper locks in the custody of the Archbishop, the two for the lower in the custody of the representative of the city, whose president is always the Mayor or Syndic.[15]

[15] These old-fashioned keys are large, perhaps ten inches

The Apse of the Treasury with the Tabernacles.

In the cupboard or recess to the left as you face the wall is the bust of St. Januarius, in the head of which is his skull or its bones: in the other to the right is a case made of silver and glass containing the two ampullae or phials, which is held upright while in the recess by a small ostensorium.[16]

This reliquary is circular in form, somewhat resembling an extra large flat watchcase, with a width of about five inches and a depth of two, and has glass behind and before. On top where the ring of a watch would be, there is an ornamental projection surmounted by an elliptical crown with a crucifix rising up through it. On the opposite side is a hollow cylindrical handle about five or six inches long and one in diameter, by which the reliquary is carried in the hands or set in a rich silver stand like an ostensorium or monstrance when it is to be placed on the altar

long and the wards are in proportion and quite complicated. They are carried in red velvet bags with gold braid.

[16] Putignano, who had observed for many years the various phases of the liquefaction states, after mentioning that the blood was sometimes found liquid, that cracks were found in the dividing partition between the two and that when repairs were made there were no longer any previous liquefactions. He is the only writer we know of who recounts this incident and he may be correct in declaring that after the repairs up to the time he wrote the blood was not found liquid, but certainly since then it has been found liquefied as in the years 1750, 1756, etc. *De Redivivo Sanguine S. Januarii,* Nap., 1723, p. 66.

or carried in procession. This reliquary or *teca,* as it is often called, is thought to have been presented also by Charles II. of Anjou, who caused the bust to be made, or by his son, Robert, as it is said that the workmanship is of that period and that it bears the royal arms. The writer did not remark any arms at all upon it, though there may be: certainly they do not show in the engraving as do the arms or insignia upon the little cape upon the bust. In fact the teca seems comparatively crude and poor in workmanship and wealth to the bust and it may well be of an earlier period. The king who was so lavish with gold for the bust would scarcely be so stingy in regard to the case for the phials.

This case cannot be opened as either it is soldered or the parts if once removable like the metal rim that holds a watch-glass in place are now so rusted together that violence would be necessary to separate them. But that it is now of the same form precisely that it had centuries ago we seriously doubt. It may not have changed materially since 1608 or thereabouts as a picture in the Treasury enables us to see pretty well, but that it either had a different form or could be opened at will is fairly evident from the notice handed down by Robert Gaguin, who tells us that when in 1495, King Charles VIII. of France was in Naples, they brought to him,

standing before the high altar in the Cathedral, the precious blood of the saint in a large ampulla of glass and then there was handed to him a little stick of silver to touch the said blood which was as hard as a rock, but scarcely was it put upon the altar than it commenced to grow warm and to liquefy as if it had just been drawn from a living man. This would go to prove the ampulla was then open and Professor Silva, S.J., regards it in the same light, though the Bollandist Stilting thinks it might simply mean that the teca was given to the king by its silver handle that he could see for himself the condition of the blood.[17] There is something to be said for this view especially as we have no means of knowing how close an observer was the authority we name Gaguin; and the "large ampulla" might mean the whole teca which shows more glass than silver.

In favor of an open ampulla is the following statement, which is the one omitted when narrating the dispute between the Cardinal and the City as to the guardianship of the relics. One of the reasons alleged by the nobles to have the holy relics guarded by both the archbishop and the deputies under pontifical authority was that in times past, either through carelessness or connivance of former archbishops, gifts of the blessed blood had been made to others and it did

[17] *Civilta Cattolica*, Sept. 2, 1905.

not seem right to expose anew to such danger that which ought to be held dearer than their own life. There is no date given for such donations but it may be assumed, though not with absolute certainty, that they were speaking of something which had occurred within a couple of hundred years and thus long after the time commonly assigned, the end of the thirteenth century, for the making of the teca. If so, then the teca was capable of being opened. When it was closed permanently we cannot determine because, though they urged the giving away of the blood in the past as a reason for papal intervention, the teca might have been closed a long time previous to the date of the discussion.

Were it not for one assertion discussed later, the teca might be regarded as closed permanently since the erection of the New Treasury, as we find no authentic testimony of its being opened afterwards, but on the contrary attempts to open it without violent means failed as we see from the Archiepiscopal records. Cardinal Filomarino wished to transfer the relics from their old silver case to one more in keeping with the beauty and magnificence of the new chapel and he had prepared a new reliquary of gold adorned with jewels and in 1649 three different attempts were made to open the present one by goldsmiths. It could be broken but not opened. In May, 1762,

one of the glasses became somewhat loose and was refastened. To what extent the glass phials were disturbed or if at all is not mentioned, though as the whole thing took but a few minutes back of the altar at the door of the niche, they were probably left unmoved.[18] These attempts and repairs were carried out in presence of the deputies, lay and spiritual, and notaries. It would be an easy matter for experts to open the teca by removing the glass but in any other way there would always be the danger of an accident.

The ostensorium is a highly ornamented and elaborate piece of silver work, gilt all over, and standing about four feet high when on its base or pedestal. The name of the giver or the date of its fashioning is not known, though its base must be attributed to Cardinal Filomarino whose arms are upon it. Neapolitan writers ascribe it to the times of the Angevin kings of their city and previous at least to Charles III., called "the Little" or "the Peaceful," who died in 1836. The grounds upon which they build their opinions, apart from the consideration of its general style which is that called Gothic, we have not ex-

[18] A friend in Naples, the Rev. Pasquale Spani, kindly made an extract from the Treasury Diary concerning this incident and from it we learn that the Archbishop himself wiped the phials to remove the very fine dust upon them — "minutissima polvere." Liquefaction took place. No word of moving them.

amined, but as there exist no positive data and as the blood has been carried regularly in processions, for which purpose it would seem specially constructed, only since the fifteenth or maybe the sixteenth, it is not so ancient perhaps as they figure.

Two other questions might be asked concerning these phials, First, are they the primitive ones? Taglialatela seems to think that they are not and he asserts that de Rossi was of the same opinion. Certainly there are not many just like them taken from the catacombs. Among the engravings given in Boldetti's work on cemeteries there is one strongly resembling the larger of the two in question.[19]

That they are at all events of a great antiquity may be readily admitted. It is only of recent date that any doubt as to their originality has been raised, all earlier writers having taken it for granted. The point is not a very important one. In reflecting on it, one must bear in mind that there might be considerable difference between phials used in Naples and in Rome and that from the Catacombs of Naples, so far as the writer knows, none similar has been collected.

Second, were both the phials filled with blood? If we are to decide from the notice of the pastoral visit paid by Archbishop Francis Carafa in 1542,

[19] *Osservazioni Sopra i Sagri Cimiteri*, p. 155.

the oldest recorded in the archives, they were both filled at that time, as we read that inspecting the (old) treasury of St. Januarius, the bust was noted down and then a "silver tabernacle in which are two glass phials filled with the blood of the saint." Two phials of blood also figure in the account of the visit of St. Peregrinus, but, it is said, not in Breviaries nor in the most ancient pictures. Some authors mention one phial as filled with clear blood and another with blood mixed with some dust, probably dust from the place of execution, the Solfatara. That in the beginning there were two phials both filled is almost certain. How long they remained so, in view of what we have said, is doubtful. If we are to take the words of the pastoral visit of 1542 literally, they were filled then, but if we are to take them as written loosely, they mean no more than people mean now, when they speak of the two ampullæ which we know for certain do not both contain much blood. Once more, if we take those words literally they would tend to show that between 1542 and 1646, the time of the dispute, some of the blood had been given away.

That the contents of the little phial had been given away is often asserted and we are willing to believe it, but when or to whom is another question. There is a document in Naples signed by a Bishop Kalephatus of Oria then apparently

residing at Naples in which it is stated that the blood was extracted from the small phial at the beginning of the eighteenth century to be given to Philip V. of Spain. A portion of it seemingly was at the date of this document, 1783, in the bishop's possession and it is now said to be identical with the sand and blood which are contained in a very small phial at the Church of St. Januarius *extra muros*.[20] This blood shows redder on the saint's feast days. There is no account of this extraction in the diaries. Another small phial is mentioned in another manuscript but no trace of it seems to have been left. One cannot help but remark the possible connection between the sand with blood at the church just mentioned and the words of the old authors who write of one of the phials as containing blood mixed with sand. So it is possible that at least part of the contents of the small phial are thus accounted for, but enquiries and researches made at Madrid this year by a friend at the request of the writer have failed to find any relic of the saint in the Spanish capital or any proof that there had been in the past.[21]

[20] Taglialatela, op. cit., p. 97. St. Januarius at the request of Philip V. by a bull, April 29, 1701, was declared Protector of Spain.

[21] St. Pantaleone's blood was likely mistaken for that of St. Januarius. See Appendix.

The Reliquary and Phials.
(About one-half the natural size.)

"The bust of the saint is composed of the head and of a portion of the shoulders. The face is youthful but the lines around the eyes and on the forehead give it an appearance of suffering. On the hair which is abundant there is a skull cap fastened by screws. The cape has many circles on it in which there are squares containing the arms of the house of Anjou in colors and there are besides other little ornaments on it. This bust rests on a pedestal of silver likewise gilt and adorned with reliefs. The one in front represents the decollation of the saint and the one on the back his appearance in the amphitheatre with the bears at his feet. The artists who like Domenichino depicted him among lions go contrary to all the acts. It is a gift of John Thomas Vespolus a Royal Councilor as the inscription informs us, who died two years before his wishes were carried out."

The features of the bust are said to be in imitation of the ancient marble statue of the saint at Pozzuoli but the resemblance will not strike many observers.

The phials are of crystal and somewhat like those gathered from the martyrs' tombs or like the so-called lachrymatories of the ancients. They are kept in an upright position by being fixed at the ends in a glue of a discolored lemon tinge, and each phial is so closed that when the liquid fills the phial or it is inverted, not a drop can escape.

The smaller phial is round in form and measures say three inches in length and less than two-

thirds of an inch in diameter. The larger one, in shape somewhat like a flattened pear, is about three inches and a half in length, two inches in width and perhaps an inch where thickest. They are plain except for a slight wavy ring of glass around the neck of both, and around the smaller one a little lower down there are four straighter rings extra. These rings recall the cords around some of the ampullæ of Monza and suggest the idea, the phials were meant to be carried on the person.

The phials are about half an inch from the glass sides of the case, so they do not touch them at all; neither do they touch the silver part, except maybe at the top and bottom where the glue is. The glass sides have plain or flat surfaces as can be seen by turning the case, because the phials retain to the eye their size and form.

CHAPTER IX

"Thou hast crowned him with honor and glory."— Ps. 8, 6.

AN EXPOSITION IN 1904 — THE WOMEN PRAYING OR CURSING — PRESENCE OF HERETICS — CURIOUS CESSATIONS OF THE MIRACLE — A TRUTHFUL HISTORIAN

EXPOSITION OF THE RELICS AS SEEN BY THE WRITER.

On the Saturday preceding the first Sunday in May, 1904, some time before noon a representative of the Archbishop and one of the city met before the recesses, each bearing a gold embroidered velvet bag, containing two keys, one for each door. The top lock of the left door was first opened by the chaplain and the bottom lock was opened by the nobleman and then the bust of the saint was taken out and placed on the Gospel side of the altar and clothed by the chaplains with very costly episcopal vestments —half-length cope and stole, and mitre, chain and cross — and then it was carried in procession to the Church of Santa Chiara and there deposited on the same side of the high altar.

About five in the evening the other recess was opened with the same precautions and the reliquary, first carefully examined to see if the blood was liquid or not, was carried in solemn procession by the Metropolitan Chapter, arrayed in full canonical robes, and the chaplains of the "Treasury" clad in their official garments, accompanied by the body of noble deputies, members of male religious congregations, etc., preceded by about forty-five groups of men bearing aloft on elevated platforms the silver statues and busts of the principal patron saints of the City of Naples, through the decorated and crowded streets to the same grand old Church of St. Clare, whose corner stone was laid by King Robert in 1310.

ST. JANUARIUS AND HIS COURT.

There amid the crowd that overflowed into every nook and cranny of the building, each statue was brought and paused for a moment as in homage before the right regal looking bust of St. Januarius, and at each pause a versicle and response was chanted. It was extremely impressive. The statues are remarkably lifelike and striking in their attitudes and varied picturesque habits or vestments, and as they come in sight, gleaming high over the heads of the multitude, the verse of the Hebrew Psalmist came unbidden to mind: *Nimis honorati sunt amici*

tui, Deus, "Thy friends are exceedingly honored, O Lord," and the words of the *Magnificat, exaltavit humiles,* "He hath exalted the humble," were illustrated even on earth, for truly it was an exaltation of the humble in a marvellous degree. St. Januarius was holding court. It makes a splendid scene and leaves a lifelong remembrance.

Finally the reliquary came in sight last of all, borne in the hands of the Archbishop, Cardinal Prisco, who slowly made his way through the fast filling sanctuary and by the Royal Cuirassiers in brazen helmets, who with drawn swords kept order, and slowly up the steps to the middle of the altar, where, turning round and holding the teca up, he showed the blood to the people. A chaplain then announced, "*e duro,*" it is hard. Then prayers were said by the clergy and the Cardinal held the case slightly elevated, now and then almost inverting it, while an attendant at times raised up a single candle to enable him to see if the hard mass showed any sign of change. No sign yet. More prayers are said by the priests and many a visitor joined in, either audibly or in silence as the moving lips revealed, while *la gente* of St. Januarius raised their voices in still higher invocations. And so some moments passed.

An indescribable air of expectancy pervaded

the whole vast assemblage and kept them gazing as one man at the relic in the hands of the Archbishop. Suddenly he looks closer, and lo! the mass is moving. It is liquid, bubbling. A sigh of relief and joy escapes from the crowd. Once more has St. Januarius manifested his power, and now, the triumphant "Te Deum" rings out through the lofty vaulted church.

The Cardinal kisses the reliquary and those around press closely. Bishops, canons, chaplains, laymen, natives and strangers, all mixed and all seemingly without exception, salute the fluid blood and the people outside the sanctuary rails come in turn, all anxious to have the same privilege. About nine o'clock the solemn procession winds its way back through the crowded and joyous streets to the Cathedral and the sacred bust and the precious phials are restored carefully and according to rules in vogue for a couple of centuries to their honored tabernacles.[1]

Naturally such a sight, so historic, solemn and

[1] The statues of the saints are carried back immediately after their arrival and presentation to St. Januarius.

On the first Sunday in May, the Canons have charge of the relics which are exposed on the high altar of the Cathedral and returned to the Chapel towards evening. During the octave they are all day in the Chapel but during the octave in Sept. after mass in the chapel they are every day on the high altar of the Cathedral. On Dec. 16, after mass they are carried in procession through the neighboring streets and then placed on the Cathedral high altar.

unusual, may fill the spectator's mind and interfere some with critical observation, but the succeeding day, Sunday, in the Cathedral, and during the remainder of the octave in the chapel itself, the exposition takes place and consequently an abundance of opportunities is offered to every one. The writer went twice again to see the liquefaction in the morning and on one of these occasions he had the privilege of saying Mass at the high altar before the exposition took place. He also went once towards evening to see the way of procedure. A crowd every morning and all during the day some people going and coming, and all who wish may approach to see or to kiss the relics.* Each morning as a rule the blood is hard and the liquefaction occurs again. The time required on Saturday was five minutes; on the second occasion, seven and on the third, twenty.

But there are other phenomena connected with this marvellous phial which are more astonishing than the liquefaction itself, and there are other particulars which increase to thoughtful people the intensely interesting character of the "wonder" of St. Januarius. Before passing to their narration and consideration, a word about an

* The forehead, lips and breast are touched with the reliquary, the priest saying: "Through the intercession of Blessed Januarius, may God protect thee from all evil."

adjunct to the exposition which receives an unfriendly attention out of all proportion to its importance.

THE WOMEN — PRAYING OR CURSING?

The following is representative of one set of critics:

"It was horrible how these twenty or thirty vixens vented their rage: threatening St. Januarius with their fists, abusing their relative to the full force of their lungs, hurling at him the grossest insults, shouting the most terrible menaces, insulting the saint upon his altar as a drunken crowd might have done around the scaffold of a parricide."[2] This is from Dumas of course who sought dramatic effect at all costs.

In contrast with the Gallic romancer, a Teutonic witness, Hurter, calmly assures us there was nothing disrespectful either in tones or words or gestures.[3] Dr. Weedall and Waterton bear the same testimony. Hurter saw, as any large-hearted, unprejudiced, well-informed man would see, something touching in the steadfast claim and joy of these poor people to be connected in some particular way with their great patron and the protector of Naples.

Perhaps Postel explains correctly the genesis of the inaccurate view in a careless or prejudiced

[2] Op. cit., p. 226.
[3] *Geburt und Wiedergeburt*, 1846, Vol. II., p. 552.

mind when writing about these women, who are termed *la gente di San Gennaro* or the kindred of St. Januarius, and who maintain, according to some, that they are descended from his relations who buried the martyr at night near the Solfatara, or according to others from the woman who preserved and gathered his blood, or even from the old paralytic cured by the saint. He says: "This people so expressive in all the details of life, become excited here and outdo themselves; their striking animation of countenance, of word, and of gesture, unusual and incomprehensible to the cold natures of the North or to souls devoid of religion, have given rise no doubt to the fable that women insult St. Januarius when he is slow to hear their prayers and lavish on him the most vulgar epithets." [4]

All the writer saw and heard was this: Eight or ten women, some old, some young, assembled near the side of the sanctuary rail on the right hand or Gospel side, and commenced to pray long before the procession came, reciting the ordinary prayers and litanies which they kept up continuously, every now and then raising the fallen pitch of their somewhat harsh voices. As they use the Neapolitan dialect, it is difficult for

[4] See in the appendix some of the prayers in dialect which these women said. *Le Miracle de Saint Janvier à, Naples,* Paris, 1857, p. 289.

strangers to understand them, and of course they prayed with an earnestness and an animation which we seldom display and with an utter, most admirable Mohammedan-like indifference to the bystanders, which we do not possess. Otherwise there was nothing remarkable about them, nor about their voices to anyone who has ever noticed that the Italians of the South glide up and down a couple of octaves in their most ordinary conversations.

It can be admitted that thoughtless strangers, unobservant of the vivacity, the oratorical and gesticulating temperaments, and unacquainted with the language, spoken and dumb, of the Neapolitans, might be somewhat deceived on certain occasions, and one could easily believe that if the miracle were long delayed, the women might so gesticulate and cry out prayers so as to transgress the bounds of respect observed among us, but never, it may be added, could they go the length of camp-meeting scenes. For that, the Italian woman has always too strong an innate sense of propriety. As it was, these good women unconsciously formed a picturesque enough part of the scene, and heaven forbid that our stiff formality should ever paralyze any children of the Sunny South!

It may add to the completeness of this little sketch to mention that a platform was erected on

the epistle side of the church several paces down from the altar rail and thereon sat several members of an orchestra. On enquiry a couple of them told me that in case the miracle was very long delayed, they would play some pieces of music. A glance at the sheets was quite convincing that it would not pass muster since the *Motu Proprio* of our present Holy Father regarding Church music was issued.

PRESENCE OF "HERETICS."

As about the women so also some wild stories have been told in earlier times how non-Catholics were driven roughly from the chapel when the liquefaction was long delayed. There is this much truth in them that under two circumstances such were sometimes required to retire: first, when after several hours the miracle did not take place, and secondly, when the liquefied blood became suddenly concrete. The writer knows of no such request within many years.

St. Januarius thus shows himself, according to Fr. Putignano, *acerrimus religionis propugnator,* a most ardent champion of religion, refusing communion with the enemies of the faith and in their presence showing a John-like sadness and indignation.[5] If notwithstanding their presence, the blood liquefied, he assigns as reasons,

[5] *De Redivivo Sanguine*, Naples, 1723, Vol. I., p. 2.

either God wishes to attract them to the true path of life or if obstinate themselves, relating their experience to their friends, they might scatter good seed bearing in time good fruit. He confesses that at first he doubted the facts narrated to him but that afterwards he had to yield as he saw with his own eyes.

Our author who published his work in 1723 relates that in 1718 Count Ulric Daun was viceroy in Naples. On Saturday, May 6th, we quote it as found in Bishop Lynch's account, he came with many German officers lately arrived in Naples to witness the liquefaction. The viceroy with his personal staff was of course in the official *loggia* or gallery. The foreign officers were clustered together within the sanctuary. Some of them were Catholics, some Protestants. The blood was hard when brought to the altar and remained hard and unliquefied for a long time. The viceroy at length sent an aid with a command to all the officers to withdraw and stand outside the sanctuary. They obeyed, of course. "Scarcely was this done — the heretic officers thus withdrawing — when, in an instant, the entire mass became perfectly liquid, to the great joy of all. It was a miracle of miracles. Some of the bystanders became Catholics immediately."

The same authority mentions another fact:

"While the relics were out at the high altar of the Cathedral there came many nobles from beyond the Alps, who wished to do homage to the saint and to witness the liquefaction. The blood was extremely fluid just then, and the reliquary was being presented to those around, in turn to be kissed. In an instant the blood became hard and dry in the hands of the canon. Those who stood by, stupefied by this new prodigy, stood as it were, nailed to the floor. Then the canon moved by an interior impulse, raised his voice and said aloud: 'Gentlemen, if there be any heretic among you, let him retire.' Immediately, one of the strangers quietly withdrew. Scarcely had he done so, when the blood was liquid again and was bubbling."

Another paragraph bearing on the same class of facts may be quoted: "It is narrated that the liquid blood has been known to solidify instantly whenever the reliquary passed into the hands of a particular canon, in his turn of office to be presented by him to the people, or when certain persons approached to venerate and kiss it, and would as quickly liquefy again when they withdrew. A notorious case is mentioned by the Bollandists, and other authorities, of a prince, whose name, for family reasons, was not given — for the matter was published in his life time. At his approach the liquid blood used to

become solid. His personal character left no doubt on the minds of the Neapolitans why this happened." [6]

Witnesses indeed both in the past and present have submitted to the Church. If witnesses who write were less prejudiced and to put it more bluntly, more truthful, their readers might not indeed believe but the erroneous and contemptuous ideas concerning the "wonder" of Naples and the whole method of procedure would not be so prevalent.

For his part the writer thinks that the ceremonies are carried out with great decorum and solemnity and with courtesy to strangers and at no time did he see any collection of money in connection with them. These authors who speak of such are simply disciples of Ananias, for never was it permitted to collect money in the *Tesoro*. It is not even accepted there when offered as intentions for masses but must be brought to the sacristy of the cathedral. The reader then can judge of the honesty of some writers quoted in these pages who are so blinded by prejudice that they even saw it themselves.

In April, 1702, at the request of King Philip V. of Spain a special exposition took place with

[6] Needless to point out that this sudden congealing and melting are in themselves proofs sufficient that the liquefaction is not in the power of the chaplains.

the result narrated elsewhere; and again in June of that year the same favor was granted to Cardinal Barberini, *Legatus a Latere* of Clement XI., in whose presence the blood became liquid. Since that time all expositions in favor of royal or noble or illustrious personages have been entirely abrogated and we read of no exposition of the blood outside the appointed days even in times when calamity was threatened by Naples' old enemy Vesuvius, as in the years 1707, 1767, etc., when the head alone was carried in procession. There is just one partial exception and it was in favor not of any person but of a war. The city was besieged by the French under Championnet and its old ramparts were under assault at the time. He succeeded and so was a conqueror, but he did not see the liquefaction. We can now easily classify another *honorable* gentleman, hailing from Cambridge, Mass., who in a work which he perpetrated and published in 1904 had the audacity to state: "Even at this day the traveller from the prosaic West may witness, at the cost of a modest fee, a miracle performed for every one of a long series of kings and conquerors recorded in the annals of Naples."[7] Imagine anyone compelled to seek

[7] The writer remembers seeing in the Catacombs at Naples a name, some common name over the address Boston, cut deep across the face of a saint in one of the old frescoes. In justice to Mr. R. M. Johnston, though the

historic truth at the hands of a writer like R. M. Johnston, who certainly as the Grand Old Growler Carlyle might say, is a lover of unveracities. It is the same old story. Your barbarian with a veneer of rationalistic culture can no more pass by a Catholic shrine without shying a stone at it than a mischievous school boy could pass a bird on the fence. The boy may break a window and we scold and smile at him at the same time; the veneered original breaks a commandment and we feel inclined to break two of them,

name is forgotten until heard, we hasten to add that it was not his. Yet Mr. Johnston has given other marks of a culture as wonderfully deep and striking. He can write nonchalantly of the "cult of its patron saint or city god, Gennaro, a Christian martyr under Diocletian who was worshipped in the fine Gothic cathedral of Naples, displacing Apollo until then venerated at the same shrine." What an "illuminating spark!" *The Napoleonic Empire in Southern Italy*, p. 14.

How very old Mr. Johnston's charge is may be seen from the following passage from St. Augustin in reply to Faustus, a calumniator of those times who had accused the Catholics of substituting martyrs for idols, replies: "Populus Christianus memorias Martyrum religiosa solemnitate concelebret, et adexcitandam imitationem, et ut meritis eorum consocietur atque orationibus adjuvetur; ita tamen, ut nulli Martyrum, sed ipsi Deo Martyrum, quamvis in memoriis Martyrum, constituamus altaria . . . et quidquis in hunc errorem delabitur corripitur per sanam doctrinam, sive ut corrigatur, sive ut caveatur." Christians celebrate with religious ceremonies the memory of the martyrs to arouse imitation to share in their merits and to be aided by their prayers; but this is so done however that to no martyr but to the God Himself of the martyrs do we erect altars although they are in memory of them. And if anyone should fall into this error he is reproved by sound doctrine either for correction or for warning.

but knowing it to be wrong we try to smile and call him *honorable,* vaguely recalling some text about heaping coals of fire.[8]

The connection between the liquefaction and the religious feelings of the Neapolitans is shown by the following extracts from the diary, which we give in Bishop Lynch's words:

"1732, Dec. 16. The blood was taken out hard. Hard it continued until after complin (the afternoon service). The people were waiting for the miracle with great anxiety. Wherefore instead of taking back the relics (to the *Tesoro chapel*) at the usual hour, they remained on the high altar (of the cathedral) until after 2:30 p. m., and the church being crowded with people they recited the litanies several times. Rosaries were said and sermons preached. But the saint did not yield which caused great terror, and every body was weeping. So things went up to 5:30 p. m. At that hour a Capuchin father in the church again stirred up the people to sincere contrition for their sins and to acts of penance. While they were doing this all saw that the blood was of a sudden liquefied — a great consolation to all."

"1748, May 7, Tuesday.— The blood was brought out hard. After sixteen minutes it liquefied. During the day it rose so high as to fill the vial completely. From the 8th to the 12th the vial was always full and the blood was seen to be one-half black, the

[8] "We are men," (say the murderers)
"Aye, in the catalogue ye go for men." Macbeth.

other half ash-colored, for which reason his majesty came a second time to see it, on Sunday afternoon (12th). When the king had left the *Tesoro* his eminence returned to pray to the saint to vouchsafe some sign of the miracle before closing up (it was the last day of the octave). In the meantime the vast crowd strove to melt him by their cries and their tears. His eminence having made his way out of the chapel with great difficuty sent for Father Gregorio of Naples, who in a most fervent sermon, exhorted the people to acts of faith and sorrow for their sins. He then commenced reciting with them the Litany of the Blessed Virgin. During the recitation thereof the blood was seen to sink half a finger and to commence to move. Who can describe the weeping and the fervor? The *Te Deum* was sung; and the blood was put up, being nearly at its normal height, of its natural color and with some froth."

"No wonder," adds Bishop Lynch, "the Neapolitans love St. Januarius as *their* patron saint when he thus yields to their fervent entreaties and prayers what was not granted to the pious curiosity of the king, nor for this occasion at least to the prayers of his eminence the cardinal archbishop."

A very interesting extract reads as follows:

"1714, May 5, Saturday.— The miracle took place at once. On Sunday after an hour and a half. During this octave the blood showed a thousand changes, liquefying, hardening, and increasing in volume many times a day in an unusual manner. God knows what will happen!"

The fact that in December the blood has been

reposed hard oftener than at any other time of exposition has attracted attention and the Neapolitans explain this peculiarity as follows: "The other festivities have been instituted in honor of the saint; this one, December 16th, the Feast of his Patronage, to show their gratitude as a city for favors received repeatedly through his intercession. Hence when vice is rife in the city, and especially when sins against religion abound, their professions of gratitude are wanting in the most necessary quality to make them acceptable; and the displeasure of heaven is marked by the withholding of the miraculous liquefaction."

On Dec. 16, 1908, the liquefaction occurred somewhat unexpectedly. It was only partial and the blood looked so dark that those who observed it felt oppressed. Between this liquefaction and the frightful disaster at Messina some thought that perhaps there was a connection.

CHAPTER X

"His bones were visited and after death they prophesied."— Eccl. 49, 18.

A PRIVATE EXPOSITION IN 1696

It will be interesting to read the description of the ceremony by the Earl of Perth, Lord Chancellor of Scotland at the fall of the Stuarts, in whose cause he was one of the most distinguished exiles at the close of the 17th century. Lord Perth's letters, written to his sister, the Countess of Errel, are preserved at Drummond Castle, and have been published by the Camden Society. In one of them, dated from Rome, 1st February, 1696 is the following account:

"The 20th of January we were invited to goe see — Saint Gennaro's ch, and the reliques were to be shown me, a favour none under a sovereign prince has had these many years. They are kept in a large place in the wall with an iron door to it plated over with silver, it has two strong locks, one key is kept by the Cardinal-archbishop, and the other by the Senate (which is composed of six seggie, or seats, for so they call the councells) — five of nobility, and one of the commons, who chuse two elects. Every one of the six ruling governors of the Senate (or the deputies of the seggie)

has a key to the great iron chest where the key of the armoire of the relicks lyes, so that all the six must agree to let them be seen, except the two ordinary times in the year when they stand exposed eight days, and the senate and bishop must both agree, for without both concur only one lock can be opened. They had got the bishop's consent for me, but how to gett all the deputies of the nobility and the elect of the people to concurr was the difficulty; however, my friends gott the deputies to resolve to meet; three mett, but one said, "I have a friend dying, upon whom depends my fortune; he has called me at such an hour, it is now so near approaching that I hope the stranger prince (for so they call all the peers of Brittain) will forgive me if I go away."

"They who were there begged him to stay but a moment (for they must be all together), but he could not delay. So going down he mett the other deputies below, and said that he saw God and his saint had a mind I should see a miracle, and so he returned, and I gott an invitation to go to ch. The relicks are exposed in a noble chapell upon the Epistle side of the ch, lyned with marble, the cupola richly painted, as is all that is not marble of the walls. Ten curious statues of saints, patrons of the town, done at full length, bigger than the naturall, of coppar, stand round the chappell high from the floors, and statues, to the knees of silver, just as big, of the same saints, stand below them. The face of the altar is of many silver cutt in statues of mezzo relievo, or rising quite out from the front, with the history of Cardinal Caraffa's bringing back the Saint's head to Naples.

"The musik was excellent, and all the dukes and princes who were deputies must be present. They

placed me in the first place, gave me that title they give the Vice-Roy (Excelenza), and used me with all possible respect. The first thing was done, the archbishop cardinal, his viccar general, in presence of a nottary and witnesses, opened his lock; then the Duca de Fiumaria, in name of all the princes present, opened the city's lock, and the old Thesaurer of the ch. (a man past eighty) stept up upon a ladder covered with crimson velvet and made like a stairs, and first took out the Saint's head, put a rich mitre upon it, an archbishop's mantle about the shoulders of the statue (for the head is in the statue of the saint), and a rich collar of diamonds with a large cross about its neck. Then he went back and took out the blood, after haveing placed the head upon the Gospele side of the altar. It is in a glass, flatt and round like the old fashioned vinegar glasses that were double, but it is but single. The blood was just like a piece of pitch clotted and hard in the glass. They brought us the glass to look upon, to kiss, and to consider before it was brought near unto the head. They then placed it upon the other end of the altar, called the Epistle side, and placed it in a rich châsse of silver gilt, putting the glass so in the middle as that we could see through it, and then begun the first mass: at the end the old thesaurer came, took out the glass, moved it to and fro, but no liquefaction: thus we past the second likeways, only the thesaurer sent the abbat Pignatelli, the Pope's nearest cousin, to bid me take courage, for he saw I begun to be somewhat troubled, not so much for my own disappointment, but because the miracle never faills but some grievous affliction comes upon the city and kingdom, and I began to reflect that I haveing procured the favour of seeing the relicks,

and the miracle failling, they might be offended at me, though very unjustly. After the third mass no change appeared but that which had made the thesaurer send me word to take courage, viz. the blood begune to grow of a true sanguine collour: but when the nobles and all the people saw the fourth mass past the Gospell and no change, you would have heard nothing but weeping and lamenting, and all crying 'Mercy, good Lord! pitty your poor supplicants; Holy Saint Gennaro, our glorious patron! pray for us that our blessed Saviour would not be angry with us!' It would have moved a heart of stone to have seen the countenances of all, both clergy and people, such a consternation appeared as if they had all been already undone. For my part, at sea, at receiving the blessed sacrament in my sickness when I thought to expire, I never prayed with more fervency than I did to obtain of our Lord the favour of the blood's liquefaction, and God is witness that I prayed that our Lord to give me this argument towards the conversion of my poor sister, that I might say I had seen a miracle, which her teachers say are ceased. The fourth mass ended without our haveing the consolation we were praying for, and then all begin to be in despair of succeeding, except a very few, who still continued praying with all imaginary fervour. You may judge that sitting three and a-half hours on the cold marble had made my knees pretty sore; but I declare I felt no exterior pain, so fixed were my thoughts upon the desire of being heard in my prayers. About the elevation in time of the fifth mass, the old thesaurer, who was at a distance looking upon the glass, cry'd out, "Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto," and run to the glass, and brought it to me. The blood had liquified so naturally as to

the colour and consistency that no blood from a vein could appear more lively. I took the relick in my arms, and with tears of joy kissed it a thousand times, and gave God thanks for the favour with all the fervour that a heart longing with expectation, and full of pleasure for being heard, could offer up: and indeed, if I could as clearly describe to you what I felt, as I am sure that it was something more than ordinary, I needed no other argument to make you fly into the bosome of our dearest mother, the Church, which teaches us (what I saw) that God is wonderfull in his saints. The whole people called out to heaven with acclamations of praise to God, who had taken pitty of them; and they were so pleased with me for haveing said — betwixt the masses that I was only grieved for the city, and not troubled at my not being so privileged as to see the miracle, that the very commonest sort of the people smiled to me as I passed along the streets. I heard the sixth mass in thanksgiving. And now I have described to you one of the hapiest forenoons of my life, the reflection of the which I hope shall never leave me, and I hope it may one day be a morning of benediction to you too; but this must be God's work. The Principe Palo, a man of principal quality, came to me at the end of the sixth mass, and in name of all the nobility, gave me the saint's picture, stamp'd on satine, and a silver lace about it. It is an admirable thing to see blood, shed upwards of one thousand three houndred years ago, liquify at the approach to the head. The Roman lady who had gathered it from off the ground with a sponge, had in squeesing of it into the glass lett a bitt of straw fall in too, which one sees in the blood to this very day." [1]

[1] Murray's *South Italy and Naples*, ed., 1858, p. 94-96.

CHAPTER XI

"A false witness shall not be unpunished."— Prov. 19, 9.

DUMAS' LITTLE TALE — IS IT A PROPHETIC BLOOD? — BELIEF IN THE MIRACLE

DUMAS' LITTLE TALE

Freely Translated, Slightly Abbreviated, Judiciously Interpolated, and Completely Annihilated.

In 1799 on the 23rd of January after a defense of three days during which the Lazzaroni armed only with sticks and stones had held at bay the veteran soldiers of the French Republic, Naples surrendered to Championnet, the Republican General. Owing to Championnet's knowledge of the Neapolitan dialect, indeed some claimed without any good grounds that he was a native of the city, and other contributing causes the French and the Lazzaroni became pretty good friends at first, but when the latter found that their condition was not improved, the *entente cordiale* became strained and worse than all the rumor spread into every quarter of the city that St. Januarius would not work his miracle in May, he would not favor these heretics, etc. Some

French soldiers were found dead and others missing, so the situation was looking dark and troublesome to Championnet and it became darker and more dangerous as the fatal day of May drew nigh and Championnet understood well that it was all important for him and his army that the miracle should take place.

Well, the day and the hour came and there in the Cathedral (sic) of St. Clare were the General and his officers and the great crowd of sullen Neapolitans, a very unusual thing for Neapolitans to be. Prayers had been said for several hours but in vain, no miracle. The prayers are changing into abuse and still no answer. Knives are being quietly drawn from pockets and waved threateningly towards the general and his staff who, of course, remain impassible as if they saw nothing. At eight o'clock in the evening, nothing but roarings are heard, in fact a duet of roaring between roarers in the church and roarers outside the church. At half past eight, there is nothing like being exact in matters of history, as the tumult increased, the impassible general actually bends towards an aide-de-camp and whispers in his ear and forthwith the obedient aide-de-camp makes his way through the seething multitude and kneels at the sanctuary rail to wait his turn to kiss the phial. At the end of five minutes the canon examined the

phial at the altar and the blood was perfectly coagulated and this, taking into account the lateness of the hour, was a great sign of the anger of St. Januarius against the French. He recommenced to offer the phial to be kissed and arrived opposite the aide-de-camp, who, on kissing the relic took him by the hand. The canon started — "A word, mon père," said the young officer.

"What do you wish?" demanded the priest.

"I wish to say to you, on behalf of the general-in-chief," replied the aide-de-camp, "that if in ten minutes the miracle does not take place, in a quarter of an hour you will be shot."

The canon let fall the phial which the young officer happily caught before it reached the ground and he handed it back with marks of profound reverence, then he arose and returned to his place near the general.

"Well?" says Championnet.

"Well," says the aide-de-camp, "be tranquil, general, in ten minutes the miracle will take place."

The aide-de-camp had spoken the truth: only he erred by five minutes. At the end of five minutes the canon raised the phial and cried: "The miracle is wrought!" The blood was completely liquefied.[1]

[1] *Corricolo*, XXII.

How precise and accurate, day, hour, and even minutes specified! How lifelike the slip of the phial in spite of the chain! Dumas makes even the weather dark and lowering in the middle of sunny May to be in harmony with the dark and troublesome aspect of things in the city; nay of the very bells, many of them were silent and the few that rang, sounded sad and lugubrious!

This story reminds us of another, which *si non e vero e ben trovato,* as the Italians say, if not true it deserves to be so. The mayor of a little German village, honored and flustered by an unexpected visit from the Emperor, waited upon him, trembling, to explain why no cannon had been fired as a salute.

"Your Imperial Majesty, there are fifty reasons why we fired no salute. First, we have no cannon; secondly, we have no pow —"

"That will do," said the Emperor, smiling, "The first reason is sufficient."

Championnet was not in Naples in May, 1799!

Owing to the complaints made against him he had been arrested in the early part of the year, brought back to France, court-martialed, honorably acquitted, restored to the army with a higher grade, but after a short time for some reason unknown to us he retired to Antibes, a small town on the Mediterranean, and there in a brief space he died in poverty and not without sus-

picion of poison. He had won favor with the Neapolitans and according to the authority quoted below he had presented rich gifts to St. Januarius.[2]

The Diary of the *Tesoro,* in which the French could have written what they pleased, seeing it belongs to the lay authorities of the City of Naples, is perfectly silent about Championnet. He is said to have visited the Chapel privately about the 24th of January and the miracle did not take place according to some and it did take place according to others. In the Archiepiscopal Archives there is a sworn statement by eye-witnesses that it did not take place but that the contrary rumor was spread abroad because it was the general's wish. If this be so, it might account for the "rich gifts"; yet they could have been given simply to conciliate public opinion.

Cardinal Zurlo, then Archbishop of Naples, was friendly not hostile to the French, so that if it had been in his power the miracle would have happened without the threat of sudden death. During the existence of this "Parthenopean Republic," proclaimed by the French after their conquest of the city, he signed a pastoral, "Le Citoyen Joseph Marie Card, Archeveque de Na-

[2] General Pietro Colletta — *History of the Kingdom of Naples,* Vol. I, p. 309, 1858. Championnet left some memoirs but the writer knows not if they were ever published. They would doubtless be interesting.

ples," and he apparently had a hand in causing it to be known that St. Januarius by an unusual liquefaction had declared for the French.[3] So if the not having cannon were not sufficient reason for not firing the salute, here you have the absence of the powder into the bargain.

A contemporary letter published in the official organ at Paris, the *Moniteur,* of date June 10, 1799, clinches the whole matter as Dr. Lynch remarks.

"Naples, May 13.— The festival of St. Januarius has just been celebrated with the customary solemnity. General MacDonald (successor to Championnet), Commissary Abrial and all the staff witnessed the renowned miracle. As it took place somewhat sooner than usual the people think better of us Frenchmen and do not look any more on us as atheists."

Some try to rehabilitate the story by substituting General McDonald for Championnet but it still remains a mere invention and is not history for McDonald indeed succeeded Championnet in command at Naples and had a privilege the latter did not enjoy, namely, he saw the miracle at the regular exposition in May, 1799, and

[3] *Analecta Bollandiana,* Vol. XIX, p. 49. On the 22nd of January, the day before the city was taken, a private exposition took place and the liquefaction occurred immediately. On the 24th, this was known. On the 27th, a *Te Deum* was sung in the Cathedral in presence of Championnet.

there were no threats, no Dumasque accompaniments at all, as testify the Diary of the Treasury and other documents. On the contrary he manifested great astonishment and repeated several times that it was very extraordinary and even presented for the golden bust of the Saint a costly mitre, still to be seen in the sacristy, which true to his principles was tri-colored. No cannon, no powder, let us add, no gunner!

Dumas' story is in reality an old one retouched, gilded and varnished. Charles Duclos, a French Encyclopedist, some of whose writings according to Brunetière are unreadable,[4] in a work written after his travels in Italy, introduced the fable and had General d'Avarey in the hero's part, who was indeed in Naples during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–13).[5] This latter fact is the only fact in the narration. This general was credited with the amiable intention of hanging the archbishop in case the miracle failed to appear.

Another romancer, a Mr. N. de la Cecilia, envious perhaps of Dumas' ability or perhaps ignorant of his success as a writer about miracles or perhaps thinking it no sin to steal what he had stolen, wrote a third version introducing a new hero whom we do not remember, but this much

[4] *History of French Literature*, ed., 1898, p. 310.
[5] *Considerations sur l'Italie*, 1791, 2 ed. p. 188.

remains imprinted on our mind that Mr. de la Cecilia placed the date on May 6th, 1848, and there was present that same day and hour besides Mr. de la Cecilia, another writer, the Abbé Postel, who in his admirable work on the miracle of St. Januarius thoroughly exposed his lying and malicious representation.[6] But it is tiresome and well nigh useless to run down and expose such malodorous fabricators. The story observes a pretty well defined cycle of time reappearing about every fifty years and making its periodical round. More space has been given to this little tale than it deserved. We will conclude with a question.

Suppose even one of this precious duo, Duclos or Dumas, spoke the truth, would that prove anything against the genuineness of the miracle? In such circumstances as they depict might there not be cause sufficient in the kindly providence of God for a special liquefaction to occur? We take it now for granted that no sane man, in

[6] His version appeared in May, 1848, in *L'Industriel* of Cambrai. Dumas' version of a scene which never occurred was selected as the best known out of a number of variants not worth repetition. General MacDonald is credited with the opinion that there is a red liquid in the reliquary, according to the *Memoires* of General Baron Thiebault, p. 510, and this author who was present with MacDonald, has another guess of his own: it is a solution of antimony which dissolves when air is admitted. The Baron Thiebault must have been some relation of Baron Munchausen.

the light of modern evidence and investigation, believes it to be a trick.

IS IT A PROPHETIC BLOOD?

Putignano, who devoted much time to the story of the blood and its history and published a large work in two parts in 1723–5, tells us that he read nothing about its prophetic aspect from the fourth to the twelfth century.[7] Joan Pico della Mirandola writing in 1505 states that it does not always liquefy, for when some evil or disturbance threatens the land, the blood by its rest foretells trouble as the inhabitants have learned by long experience. Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pius II.) mentions in 1456 its prophetic aspect and Robert Gaguin in 1495 adds that the liquefaction was supposed to indicate a new ruler's right and *vice versa*. Hence the anxiety to have the miracle take place on change of governments and the stories about the supposed compulsory liquefaction. Pestilence reigned during 1526, 7, 8, and the blood remained hard those years. In 1556 during the war between Paul IV. and Philip II., it remained in a liquid state. In 1701 the blood liquefied before the head was shown and then after some time it solidified and again became soft. The following night there

[7] The second part of his work has for title *De Sanguine Præsagiente.*

was an insurrection in the city. In 1709 while the phial seemed full the blood was agitated so that trouble was expected and trouble came soon after on account of some royal impost. Girolamo de S. Ana in his life of the saint, 1707, says, however, the finding it liquid is a sign of some danger happily averted, but Tutoni considered it a token of some future grace.

The writer paid but little attention to this question and the above are a few notes hastily jotted down. At present the popular opinion is that if the blood be found liquid it is a bad sign; if having been found hard it remains so the omen for evil is emphatic. There has been observed some correspondence between the failure of the miracle and hurtful events but whether there was any connection between them beyond coincidence is an open question.

If we may doubt whether the blood be a prophet or not there is no doubt at all but it has caused prophets to spring up in the most unlikely quarters. Few men indeed can resist the prophetic impulse. Even the High Priest of Pseudo-Rationalism, Voltaire, fell a victim and burst forth A. D. 1764 in quite a solemn strain: "Archbishops of Naples! the time shall come when the blood of Mr. St. Januarius will not liquefy when it approaches his head. It shall be when the Neapolitans know enough to know

that this sleight of hand is not worth a ducat to them and is absolutely useless to the prosperity of the citizens."[8] The note of utility is heard again. And how long a time must elapse before the nobles and citizens attain this giddy height of knowledge, O prophet? With a vagueness revealing more caution than certainty, comes the reply: "Some centuries" (dans quelques siècles). Knowledge surely lingers.

Twenty-five years after M. Dupaty, another "romancier voyageur," being a man of desires, wrote that for some time the miracle had fallen into disrepute and it was likely to cease soon.[9] A century has passed since the disciple wrote, and with the advance of knowledge the mystery of Naples deepens, and a later science than Lavoisier's only reveals depths still greater and difficulties more numerous than superficial inquiry had discovered and discussed.

BELIEF IN THE MIRACLE.

As Dumas was placed among the doubters, let him appear among the believers. He was per-

[8] Voltaire, Vol. 42, p. 58, written in 1764.
Some Italian writers misled perhaps by Valéry's remark (Voyage Hist. et Litt. 1826–8, Vol. 3, p. 322), that Voltaire spoke with consideration of the wonder, repeat this remark but a perusal of Voltaire's own words would quickly disabuse them of this notion. *Lettres sur l'Italie*, 1788.

[9] "Cela se fait tout naturellement" was his gay solution of the liquefaction, consequently he anticipated by 68 years the profound off-hand solution of Mr. White!

haps no more sincere in the one than in the other, yet his *credo* is openly recited, while the *nego* is only, perhaps, unconsciously implied in the story. Contradiction in his writings, visible or latent, caused him no worry. This quotation is from the same work containing the story:

"Now that doubt lifts its head to deny, and science raises its voice to contradict, behold what it is, behold what is done without mystery, without chicanery, without substitution and in sight of all. The philosophy of the eighteenth century and modern chemistry are at their wits' ends. Voltaire and Lavoisier wished to bite this file and like the serpent in the fable they have broken their own teeth. Now forsooth it is a secret guarded by the Canons of the Treasury and preserved from generation to generation since the fourth century down to our time! That is possible, but then such fidelity all will agree is more miraculous even than the miracle, and I prefer therefore to believe simply in the miracle and for my part I declare that I do believe it."

Many repeat after Voltaire that the well-instructed Neapolitans and Italians in general regard this miracle as Horace did the melting incense of Gnatia, only they do not permit themselves to speak so frankly as he did, their conduct and language about any subject connected with even the most popular belief being governed by the danger of being thought unbelievers and the little inconvenience they experience by appearing

too credulous. We doubt if this was ever true of any large number, and certainly it is not today, though the danger mentioned is a thing of the past.

Novelty and wonder go hand in hand but frequency weakens admiration. Many of them probably never ask themselves seriously whether they believe in it as a miracle or not, but the Rev. John Chetwode Eustace, who regretted his flippancy and intended to change his words when death prevented him, wrote incorrectly, asserting that the Neapolitans had adopted the rule of the ancient Germans as given by Tacitus: "Sanctius et reverentius est de diis credere quam scire." To consider the liquefaction as a trick would be impossible except to a few noted for their atheistic or irreligious views. As many Londoners have never visited the Tower, so some Neapolitans may have never seen the miracle. The opportunity being at hand, they procrastinate like other mortals. As a people they do believe and are attached to it, though both belief and attachment may appear somnolent or nonexistent until something arises to disturb their calm indifference. Many an object until threatened evokes little display of the deep feelings it can arouse.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century Bishop Sabbatini wrote that some Catholics who

had never seen it doubted it, but once seen doubt vanished. It is much the same to-day. Some outside Italy have never heard, or have forgotten, or give themselves no concern about it. If they were suddenly asked their opinion they would be puzzled to reply. The liquefaction, like other miracles recorded of the saints, is for them a question of proof. Its long continuance and the attitude of the Church in Italy while inclining the will to believe, could not of itself be sufficient to move the intellect to assent. The Church has given no decision, and no circumstances seem likely to arise to urge her to do so. Some doubt, but once examined the great majority would believe, and not one in ten thousand after seeing it would hesitate to accept it as supernatural, and that one at most would be worried with the thought that perhaps after all it might be explained on purely natural grounds.

Horace was referred to on account of the lines in the fifth satire of the first book descriptive of his journey to Brundisium:

". . . Dehinc Gnatia, lymphis
Iratis exstructa, dedit risusque jocosque;
Dum, flamma sine, thura liquescere limine sacro
Persuadere cupit: . . ." [10]

[10] "In the next place Egnatia which seems to have been built upon troubled waters, gave us occasion for jests and laughter; for they wanted to persuade us, that at this sacred portal the incense melted without fire."

It is said that the raillery of Horace extinguished for good the fireless smoking incense. Did Voltaire hope by his satiric grin to congeal forever the blood of St. Januarius?

PART II

CHAPTER XII

"Come and behold ye the works of the Lord: what wonders he hath done upon earth."— Ps. 45, 9.

OPPORTUNITY OF OBSERVATION — APPEARANCE OF THE BLOOD — USUAL CONDITIONS OF LIQUEFACTION — THE BEGINNING OF THE LIQUEFACTION — THE INCREASE AND DECREASE OF VOLUME — THE GLOBO — TABLES OF EXPOSITION

OPPORTUNITY OF OBSERVATION.

"But this ceremony is carried on with so much precaution and the people are kept at such a distance from it that one can observe scarcely anything!" So cries one in your right ear, while at the same time you hear in your left: "I was right at the side of the priest who held the reliquary!" [1]

Strangers if on time can get good positions. Hurter was astonished at the freedom permitted indiscriminately to the crowd. The writer, like Dr. Weedall, was close to the Cardinal in the

[1] "Mais cette ceremonie se fait avec tant de précautions et on tient le peuple si écarté qu'à peine peut-on rien voir!" Malte Brun, *Voyage en France et en Italie, etc.*" t. III, let. 92. Apud Postel, p. 259. "J'étais à côté même du prêtre, qui tenait le reliquaire." Lalande, *Voy-*

Church of St. Clare and in the chapel he watched the opening of the two doors, looked in the recesses and stood close to Monsignore Bagnoli who held the reliquary and the Duke of Bagnoli, the city deputy, both of whom were very courteous and gave every reasonable opportunity to examine and to question.[2]

Many strangers, both Protestant and Catholic, were present and approached as freely as the Neapolitans. When some foreign ladies did not draw near to the sanctuary rail, yet showed by their manner their desire to see better, the Chaplains very often and very kindly held the teca up higher and forward to afford a clearer view. Scientific men have been granted every opportunity, short of opening the case, to handle and to examine it, as we shall see presently. "There is no attempt whatever to conceal or make a mystery of the proceeding. Quite the contrary," wrote Sir George Grove in 1869.[3]

Once it was customary to carry the head and blood to the various *sedilia* of the city and even

age d'un Français en Italie, 1768, Vol. II. Bædeker says in his matter of fact way: "Travellers by applying to the Sagrestano, may often secure a good place near the altar during the solemnity." *Southern Italy*, ed., 1903, p. 53.

[2] To the latter gentleman, whose ancestor signed by proxy the Vow of 1527, the writer owes his thanks for several acts of courtesy and also for the gift of one of the little silk skull-caps which bear a gilt impression of the saint.

[3] Sir Charles Grove's description written in 1869. Murray's *Handbook for Southern Italy*, ed., 1890.

into the houses of the great when sick. Nothing could be simpler and more above board than the whole ceremony, and the frankness displayed, the utter absence of any reserve, make upon all intelligent visitors a deep, favorable and lasting impression.

THE APPEARANCE OF THE BLOOD.

In the small phial there are visible only two or three dark stains on the inside walls. They may be caused by very small pieces, mere films, of sponge once saturated with the martyr's blood. They seem to be in any case a little more than mere stains. The contents of this phial are said, as we have stated elsewhere, to have been transported to Madrid a long time ago. If all its contents were sent one might well wonder why the ampulla itself was retained, except maybe to make the transfer attract less attention.

Even in these few drops whenever the liquefaction takes place in the other phial a corresponding change is visible according to Putignano, who gave to this part of the subject particular care, but most writers pass the small phial and its slim contents over with a word or two and these latter we imitate somewhat reluctantly for want of closer observation.[4]

The second phial we observe to be a little more

[4] Putignano, op. cit., p. 163.

than half full of a dark, reddish, slightly mottled, hard looking mass of a slightly grainy appearance in texture. Postel gives it: *Du couleur brune, coagulé, dur, collé aux parois,* "of a brown color, coagulated, hard, and attached to the sides of the vial." Dr. Pietro Punzo described a part which adhered to the glass as *giallo bruno e striato in rosse in varii punti,* "yellow brown and streaked in parts with red." It has been noticed, "yellow: black in upper part and ashy looking in the lower." In May, 1710, on the fifth day of the octave, it was of a somewhat ashy color, which it seemed to retain until September, but when taken out then it regained its original color in a few hours. *Solutus, subniger e rubeo vergens,* when fluid, "blackish and inclining to be red": "color of roasted coffee," are also descriptions.

In judging of the color it must be borne in mind that it is seen first through a glass made somewhat dim by many lips and much rubbing — it is rubbed before presentation to each individual to kiss — and second through the crystal of the phial itself, and sometimes not in the clearest light. There are no stain glass windows in the "Treasury." Some have described it as if serum was quite visible at times on the surface and this suggests the yellow color mentioned more than once. The older descriptions very

often speak of its color as of blood just recently shed and doubtless if the opportunities of viewing were better this would be found to be the prevailing appearance when liquid, but it is reasonable as a summing up to admit that the color at times has changed in a marked manner and that at present it is ordinarily of a dark or reddish brown with lighter pin spots in it and that when liquefied it is brighter looking.

One would be inclined to believe that some sand was mixed with the blood. Under a magnifying glass the grains are said to be distinguishable. John Rho, S.J., is one of the very few who wrote that he observed in the blood when liquid something which he believed to be a minute piece of straw.

The majority of writers remark that the substance does not adhere to the glass when liquid but one or two assert that it has at times adhered. Thus Dr. Punzo states that when liquid and the teca was moved from side to side no trace was left on the glass but when it was to be reposed for the night, it did adhere to the walls of the ampulla and he adds that it did not look like the same substance as in the morning.[5] When it is asserted to adhere to the walls while

[5] *Indagini ed Osservazioni sulla Teca di S. G.* Nap., p. 3. Professor S. de Luca, a distinguished senator of Naples, a chemist of note and a radical had made some observations on the liquefaction, but he died a believer

solid it may mean simply that when the teca is inverted the substance does not move, which is to be expected considering the shape of the vial and the amount of the contents which reach always above the broadened out centre of the vessel, thus leaving no space for it to move downwards. Whether when solid it contracts enough to admit regularly its moving or rattling we do not know except in a couple of cases. It looks like a petrification.

USUAL CONDITIONS OF LIQUEFACTION.

It is brought into the vicinity and view of the head and held at a distance varying from about four feet to six or seven while waiting for the change. So far as the writer knows and as one would naturally expect, the bust containing the head is completely closed so that its gilt silver plate is always between the two, while in the recess there is in addition the dividing wall. As the priest holding the reliquary stands facing the people near the centre of the altar and sometimes turns partly around, it can happen that his arm or his person intervenes between the two, his arm because he holds the teca by the stem and frequently places the fingers of his

before he could publish them. Professor Pietro Punzo who assisted him, gave them to the public under the above name.

other hand lightly on the crucifix on top for greater security, especially when inclining the teca. He never touches the circular part of the reliquary or the glass, much less does he rub, or chafe, or "fondle" or shake it. Hence, those who have seen the exposition and who still presume to speak of such manipulations are, in Hurter's words, "die schändlicksten Lugner," which is good German for old Anglo-Saxon "most shameless liars."

As the blood has been found liquid when first taken out of its tabernacle this presence of the head is not essential. We read, moreover, that the Church of St. John the Baptist, commonly called San Giovanni Maggiore, had a relic of our saint — a part of a bone — and once an altar was erected outside the Church and the relic placed thereon so that when the procession passed the blood was in view of it, whereupon it immediately liquefied. As this anticipation caused discontent, the exposure of the relic was forbidden. When Charles, Duke of Nevers, afterwards of Mantua, took the teca in his hands, the liquefaction occurred though the Archbishop had refused to allow the head to be exposed.

Seeing then that the blood has liquefied before a relic not the head; has liquefied when in procession out of sight of the head; has been found liquefied, and that in presence of the head it has

often not liquefied, we can conclude that though the liquefaction is nearly always *en rapport* with a relic — the head as a rule — the miracle is not absolutely dependent upon the presence of any relic.

The reliquary is generally turned upside down while waiting for the change. Dr. Sperindeo speaks of it as so held. G. M. di S. Anna denied for his day that it was ever exposed in this manner but there is no doubt about its having been often since done. The first time the writer observed the exposition he noted carefully that the Cardinal never once turned the teca so completely that it was inverted. When observing it the second and third time the priest may have inverted it, now and then the better to notice any change in its solidity. No special importance is attached to this point and it is simply mentioned to give a full account of the manner of procedure followed.

The erudite Mabillon [6] and, odd name to join to his, the fanatical Rev. Conyers Middleton, speak of the liquefaction in such a way as to show that neither of them saw it or that they confound it with some other liquefaction — probably that of St. John's Blood or St. Patrice's. Count Miot de Melito writes of the wonder of St. Janu-

[6] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum* Tom I., p. 105. Middleton, *Letter from Rome*, ed., 1742, p. 208.

arius, showing the teca to have been inverted: "I was near the canon and I perceived the substance begin to detach itself from the sides of the glass, then slowly drop and spread so as to fill a greater space, i. e., nearly the whole bottle which appears half empty when the matter it contains is in a solid form." [7]

John Moore, M. D., though "eminent for the benevolence of his heart and the purity of his morals," according to one critic and "more distinguished by the range of his information than by its accuracy," according to another, must be placed without any hesitation under the heading we gave above from Hurter, since he asserts boldly that the priest chafed it and if we remember correctly he chafed it vigorously and all this chafing took place, as it was at one of the *sedilia*, in the open air upon a platform in view of all the people! [8]

TIME REQUIRED FOR LIQUEFACTION.

No definite time is required. It occurs in from one minute to several hours. The actual liquefaction may be as quick as a flash or it may proceed so slowly as almost to escape notice. On Sunday, May 6th, 1527, the blood was found hard and it remained hard all during 1527 and

[7] *Memoires*, 1858, Vol. I, p. 24.
[8] *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, 1781, Vol.

1528 and up to Saturday, May 1st, in 1529: so for two years it did not liquefy. In 1628 two days passed before it occurred and in May 1835 there was no liquefaction at all. Likewise it had remained solid in 1551, 1558 and in 1569, whereas in 1556, 1557, 1560, 1599 and 1631 it was always found liquid. Hence the absurdity of hostile or careless writers declaring that "the miracle happened sooner than expected," "before the time," "at the hour appointed," etc. There is absolutely no regularity in the length of time which elapses between the expositions and the liquefactions if these occur. The nearest approach to a general statement would be to say, that it takes place in from five minutes to two or three hours.

THE BEGINNING OF THE LIQUEFACTION.

It is important to note that the liquefaction does not begin at any one point and then gradually spread. It starts all around and is generally instantaneous throughout the entire mass. Dr. Pietro Punzo compares the beginning as he saw it to the manner in which solid parafin would melt if immersed in something warm. The top part has liquefied and the lower remained solid: the lower has liquefied and the upper remained solid, and this solid portion has sometimes adhered to the sides and sometimes it has floated.

It has been observed with only the middle portion fluid while the top and bottom were coagulated and adhered to the glass. At times only a drop or two appeared which ran over the hard surface of the remainder and in these cases the rest of the mass generally became fluid yet sometimes the liquefaction extended no further. Most of these phases occur very rarely. Once when so full that the liquidity could scarcely be ascertained the whole mass was noticed to be disturbed in some strange manner.

AN ACCOMPANIMENT TO THE LIQUEFACTION.

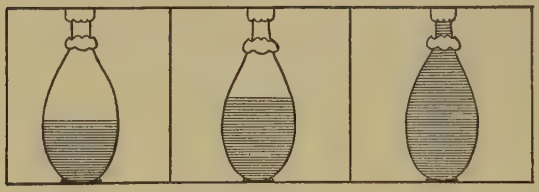
At the time of liquefaction bubbles are very often though not always observed on the surface and through the mass and sometimes it has, as it were, a very slight spongy appearance. Bubbles the size of a pea, declared Punzo, now few, now many and united like foam. The writer noticed this foamy phenomenon on the surface though not so very marked and perhaps also through the body. Baronius speaks of the ebullition. *Ebullit* writes Putignano and adds, *saepe bullae quaedam in superficie ebullitionem praeveniunt,* it bubbles up and often some drops appear on the surface beforehand. *Il Mattino* of Naples for September 21, 1904 thus reported the miracle: "The precious blood of our Holy Patron liquefied bubbling up in the ampullas without

showing any globo or lump." The foaming may last a few minutes or even hours and when the blood has solidified again it may or may not be remarked on the surface. The bubbling or boiling is vigorous enough at times to cast up portions of the liquid clear above the surface, sometimes even to the neck of the phial. In 1717 on Dec. 16, a kind of vapor or exhalation filled the upper part of the vial completely. Once while the phial was at rest the blood liquefied and circled around the interior three or four times. Postel gives this description: "All at once, at one instant or another, the blood begins to boil. You have seen it only a few seconds before, dry, compact, hard, coagulated: behold it now gently agitated, it is liquefying, it expands its volume, it bubbles and fills entirely the phial." These last words introduce one of the most extraordinary facts connected with this strange relic.

INCREASE AND DECREASE.

A most peculiar phenomenon indeed is now to be considered. When the blood in the simple little crystal bottle liquefies it increases in volume! It is not simply a passing increase due to the ebullition, if the latter occurs, but an increase which remains while liquid and remains when it re-coagulates, because when brought out liquid

or solid next morning the increase is still there. At the next liquefaction it increases a little more and so on until at the end of the week, and sometimes sooner, the phial is filled and so filled at times that the liquefaction can only be ascertained by the closest observation. This increase takes place generally during the May exposition. In September it commences to decrease bit by bit until by the end of the week, the phial is once more about half full.



The usual increase in May.

In this augmentation of volume, as in all the other phenomena visible in this matter, no absolute regularity can be expected. On May 11, 1902, there was a sudden reduction, and in September, 1870, on the first day, the usual reduction was observed and then began an increase which remained during the rest of the week. Sometimes on the same day both diminution and augmentation have been noted and sometimes the phial remained full for several days. In September, 1879 taken out with the same volume

as when put away in May, i. e., completely filled, it liquefied in a few moments and resumed its original volume and during the octave, though liquefying, no augmentation was perceived. No mention occurs of any diminution below the normal half-filled condition of the ampulla, nor of any change in its volume when solid, and since it seems to be always of the same height in the ampulla when taken out as it was when reposed, we can conclude it does not undergo any variations while in the repository.[9]

THE GLOBO.

When the liquefaction takes place there remains often in the centre of the liquid a portion undissolved which is commonly called the *Globo* and which resembles a round nut, and so far as the writer remembers it did not follow in shape the configuration of the lower part of the ampula, i. e., the liquefaction did not extend from the circumference inwards in precisely equal distances all round from the crystal. This *globo* manifests the same outlaw variety as the other phenomena. Sometimes it is present, sometimes it is not; now large, now small. It may remain a whole day and sometimes when the teca is ex-

[9] 1683, 3rd of May, it was found hard after midday recess but fuller than when liquefied. It is not said fuller than when covered so it probably increased during exposition.

posed next morning the parts liquefied and solid or partially solid are the same. The irregularities of this *globo* increase the difficulty of any explanation.

From a manuscript abstract of the Archiepiscopal Diary already mentioned, Dr. Lynch compiled some tables showing the state of the blood when exposed, when reposed and time elapsed before liquefaction. These we give below along with some comments.

State of the Blood When Exposed, and Number of Times.

	May 1648 to May 1860. (inclusive) 213 Years. 1917 Expositions.	Sept. 1648 to Sept. 1860. 212 Years. 1696 Expositions.	Dec. 16. 1632 to 1860. 228 Years. 228 Expositions.
Hard	1353	1451	216
Soft	39	4	1
Hard and Full	64	24?.... 62	10
Full	311	10	*
Liquid	35	145	1
Liquid and Globo....	115	*	*

Time Required for Liquefaction.

Under 10 minutes....	384	404	*
Under 30 minutes....	421	643	26
Under 60 minutes....	187	145	29
Under 2 hours	46	59	41
Under 5 hours	20	33	42
Over 5 hours	10	13	26
Always liq. & globo..	18	*	*
Always liquid	31	145	1
Always full	309	8	3
Always hard	1	*	43
Gradual	42	*	*
Vague or omitted....	446	246	17

State of Blood When Reposed.

Liquid	1360	1669	131
Liquid and Globo....	91	*	46
Liquid and Full.....	141	18	*
Full	309	always full 8	3
Soft	5	*	5
Hard	8	1 hard as found	43
Hard and Full	3	1	*

The asterisks mark places where either that phase of the phenomenon did not occur or when it was not noted down. The question mark after 24 under Sept. indicates uncertainty as to its being hard and full but probably it was.

Summing up these figures roughly we can say that within the years given the substance was found hard about 3,400 times and liquid or partly so about 200 times or once in every seventeen expositions. It was liquid when reposed over 3,650 times.

The globo or unliquefied part seems to have been present in May and December relatively often and absent in September, and in December itself the blood has been locked up in a hard form with a frequency sufficient to attract attention. Some may see in these a vague connection between the weather and the liquefaction but any judgment in the matter would be premature until the question of the temperature is discussed at length.

"These tables along with some special expositions and observations, present an aggregate of no less than 3,884 expositions within a little more than two centuries, of which number no less than 3,331 were marked by a complete or partial liquefaction. The exceptions are of various classes. The most numerous one comprises 320 cases in which the ampulla was found in the morning and continued during that day so completely full that it was impossible for an ordinary

observer to say whether the blood liquefied or not.

"The writer of the Archiepiscopal Diary says on this point, A. D. 1773: 'When the vial is full, some signs are at times observed indicative of a liquefaction, chiefly a wave-like motion when the vial is moved. But as this can only be seen from the rear (that is as the light shines on it or through it from the opposite side) and only on close inspection and by practised eyes and is not visible to ordinary observers standing in front, it is not here noted down as a liquefaction.' In the diary of the *Tesoro* which we cannot now consult, they are probably recorded as liquefactions.

"The next largest class of exceptions consists of the 171 cases in which the blood was found liquid and was replaced in the same condition. In such cases not unfrequently the fluid mass became congealed or even hard during the day and liquefied again. Even when this did not happen there are so many other and frequent changes as to color, to frothing, or to ebullition and to change of volume, that even without the occurrence of liquefaction, the fluid blood presents many wonderful characteristics.

"In our tables we have counted the octave of September, 1659, as presenting seven days during which the blood was found and remained liquid. The diary taking up the octave day by day states that on the 19th of September the blood was found liquid and the reliquary being placed near the bust there commenced an ebullition of the blood marked with froth. This continued off and on during the day. On the 20th the blood was again found liquid and the ebullition and the frothing were repeatedly renewed as on the preceding day. On the 21st the blood was a third time found liquid and on this day the ebullition was more con-

tinuous and violent. The 22nd, the 23rd and the 24th were marked by the same phases. On the 25th the blood was found in a soft or jelly-like state. It soon liquefied entirely and during the day became covered with froth. The 26th, the last day of the octave, was like the first. The blood was found liquid and the ebullition was resumed but more moderately."

"Of the 44 instances during the years mentioned in which the blood was found hard and continued hard to the end of the exposition the diary records on several occasions the presence of one or more fluid drops, sometimes of yellowish serum, sometimes of reddish blood, which could be made to run to and fro on the surface of the hardened mass and continued to be seen for hours or sometimes even to the close of the day." [10]

In some years it has been found liquid and remained so during the entire octave but not since 1631 in both octaves: neither since that year according to the Bishop's examination of the Archiepiscopal Diary, has it remained solid during any entire octave although some times it may have occurred on the second, third or fourth day. Sometimes found liquid it continued so for one or more days and then was found hardened.

[10] *Cath. World,* Vol. XIV, p. 41.

CHAPTER XIII

"For professing themselves wise they become fools."— Rom. 1, 22.

THE ILLUMINATI

A prologue to Chapter XIV.

There is one class of writers which we wish to corral and keep apart fencing them off from all others in a separate chapter. In so acting we hope we are guided by that verse of Scripture which advises us to answer fools according to their folly. Their ignorance is entirely due to their own fault and pride.

They are almost beneath contempt. Regarding themselves as *illuminati,* specially gifted, more highly endowed with powers of observation and reasoning than other men and always thanking God, or Chance, or the Unknown, or the Absolute, that they are not as other men, deficient in righteousness, these pharisees sit in judgment and deliver oracular sentences without wit, or sense, without observation or candor, without decent respect for the opinions of others and without apparently a thought that by so doing they exhibit themselves as narrow, ignorant,

bigoted or thick-headed egotists, making themselves a sorry spectacle to men and angels. Christ spared not this class in the Gospel and St. Paul insists that we be not overwise in our own conceits. But we need not after all answer them. We will simply stand back and let them rave and rant before the gaze of an amused and astonished public.

Here they come! Do not be afraid and think that all Bedlam is let loose. No, only two divisions of a comparatively harmless class of inmates who are given their freedom for a short time — the megalocephalics and the imbecilics. Maybe we do them wrong seeing they are so majestically self-confident to thus characterise them. Maybe we owe them respect — the respect Ruskin said was due to honest, hopeless, helpless imbecility and does not Cooper tell us that even among the Indians the mentally imbecile were held in a species of religious reverence? We can however reassure ourselves by reflecting that kind nature, by way of compensation, has endowed them with such thick skulls and tough skins that our blows and prods hurt them not; they are as the air invulnerable.

Oh, the ineffable air of condescension, the pitying smile with which they approach, elbowing their way apologetically and gingerly through the bystanders and raising their eyebrows and

how they ask with conscious modesty the crowd to stand back and give *them* a chance to explain this wonder, which is really, after all, you know, just one more trick of the sly, treacherous, money-seeking, miracle-mongering, truth-resisting clergy of Rome — a trick which is not really up to the usual standard of such impostures. Why, it is amazingly easy! Cannot you see, my poor misguided and duped friends, cannot you see how it is done? Here is the solution: It is by the heat of a candle, the warmth of hands, a mere change of temperature, blood of a dead religious, sympathy, antipathy, a whiff from Vesuvius, not blood at all but a mixture of any and every old thing, gelatine, sago, chocolate, whey, salt, lime, ether, sulphuric acid, water, electricity, hot air, hot water, ice, Satan, sleight of hand, wax, soap, aqua fortis, cheese, psychical force, mercury, a machine, a mere trick and a bungling one at that and so the Babel of confusion, of contradiction, of error, of suspicion, of rash judgment and of folly keeps pouring forth in a long interminable flood until one is irresistibly reminded oddly enough of the very miscellaneous contents of a schoolboy's pocket as enumerated by one of the class we are considering and at the same time as we grow astonished over their stupidity, there comes to memory a passage from one of Lamb's ever delicious essays of Elia,

where he quotes with a relish the words of a correspondent who found music in an ass's voice and who wondered that others had not perceptions keen enough and refinement sufficient to appreciate the octave of tones and half-tones of the patient donkey's braying. There is a difference however. He wrote of one: here we have a choir of such inharmonious performers, that, deafened by their clamor we can only turn aside remembering well that truth is always one and error hydraheaded. This rabble of expounders can be dismissed with a sentence of Montaigne's:

"Glory and curiosity are the scourges of the soul: of which the last prompts us to thrust our noses into everything and the former forbids us to leave anything doubtful or undecided." [1]

"Tales habet adversarios Ecclesia, hi duces contra martyrum sanguinem militant!" [2]

[1] *Montaigne's Essays*, Chap. 26.

[2] "And such are the adversaries the Church has; these are the leaders who fight against the blood of the martyrs!" St. Jerome *ad Vigil.*

CHAPTER XIV

"The lips of the unwise will be telling foolish things."— Eccl. 21, 28.

EXPLANATIONS AND SOLUTIONS

If the liquefaction be such a miserable trick, a wretched imposture, it is truly odd how long a time passes before a satisfactory exposure or even a good imitation can be made. The miracle is expected eighteen times a year, i. e. nine in May, eight in September and once on December the 16th. Thousands of strangers have seen it: it has been the subject of hundreds of books and pamphlets and letters. Several imitations have been trumpeted abroad as successful and again and again men have come forward to show how it is done and men of science have made many experiments, but the imitations die aborning, the explanations fall short, the experiments fail and at the dawn of the twentieth century, in the rich and cultured city of Parthenope, this matter, *lapidescens potius quam coagulata,* which is more of a petrifaction than a solidification, said to be the blood of a martyr at the dawn of the fourth

century, liquefies and manifests life when brought in sight of the heroic Bishop in whose veins it once coursed, as if, says Baronius, it rejoiced to approach the palm-crowned head and recognizing the font whence it flowed and impatient of resurrection's delay, would fain hasten to reanimate it once more.

Solution No. 1.

EXHALATIONS FROM VESUVIUS.

James Serces, vicar of Appleby, in Lincolnshire, England, wrote a treatise published in 1729, on miracles and in discussing the wonder of Naples he remarked that the exhalations from Vesuvius and the Solfatara had something to do with it.[1] Just why this blood and this head should alone of all the dead heads and blood in corpses be affected and the others remain steadfastly lifeless he did not attempt to explain. As one of his critics said there are many dead in Naples and even close to Vesuvius.[2] Mr. Serces' ability and point of view may be judged from a later work of his entitled: *Popery an Enemy to Scripture.*

[1] *Traité sur les Miracles par Jacques Serces,* Vicaire d'Appleby, dans le Comte de Lincoln, Amsterdam, 1729.

[2] Bonito — *Gli ultimi progressi delle scienze sperimentale e la Liquefaz. del Sang. di S. G.* Milan, 1881, p. 25.

Solution No. 2.

SYMPATHY.

Some writers suggested that it was a case of sympathy between the head and the blood.[3] When the latter was brought near the former the one melted we suppose at the recollection of former times. But if once why not always so affected? Sympathy on the part of the people has been vaguely hinted at. An atmosphere of belief may have some influence in obtaining a miracle, judging from the text; "And he wrought not many miracles there because of their unbelief," (St. Matt. 13, 58) but nowhere do we read that it worked one. In Naples moreover the people are always sympathetic.

Solution No. 3.

ANTIPATHY.

The blood is the blood of St. Januarius but the head is the head of his wicked judge Timotheus and when the latter is in the vicinity of the blood it flows as did formerly the blood of a corpse when the murderer approached it. Since corpses have ceased to play the part of de-

[3] C. F. Garmann *Tract. de Miraculis Mortuorum*, 1709, lib., 2 tit., 5, 8, and others not worth mentioning either for "sympathy" or "antipathy" or "animal magnetism."

tectives, we can scarcely accept this solution at this time of the day.

Solution No. 4.

ANIMAL MAGNETISM.

Animal magnetism has also been invoked to dispel the mystery. It must be of a brand unknown to most people if it could be vitally active from dry skull to dry blood through silver plates, glass and all!

Solution No. 5.

SLEIGHT OF HAND.

A German writer solved it by imagining that there were two reliquaries, exactly alike, one containing hard and the other dry blood.[4] The priest in charge was of burly dimensions so he could easily have hidden one about his person. A little dexterity on his part and lo! the miracle is worked. We are not informed what would happen if the supply of burly priests ran out. This author informs us that one of the canons even told him so! Of course we believe him and at the same time forgive and sympathize with the poor canon who must have been at his

[4] Busching (1795), a great geographer and author of over one hundred books. For No. 6, Sismond — *Voy. en Italie*, 3 ed. v. ii, p. 103.

wits' end dealing with an investigator of such superlative sagacity. Their race is not yet died out.

Solution No. 6.

BLOOD OF ANOTHER.

A writer as late as 1838, M. Sismond, said it was a blood of a religious who had died the previous week, which had not coagulated, etc. It is to be supposed, we suppose, that only the blood of a religious would do, and that one would die regularly just in time for the annual exhibitions and in case of a sudden emergency — well we shudder at what deeds the mere thought suggests!

Fresh blood every morning has also been offered as a solution.

Solution No. 7.

ICE: SORBETS.

A Prussian Councillor of State, Rehfues, from his very office he would be well acquainted with state stratagems, suggested that a little ice was all that was required, and he added so knowingly and withal so graciously that every one knows they can prepare such ices better at Naples than at Archangel. His work is entitled, "Tableau

de Naples." An Englishman hazarded the remark that a preparation like "sorbets" would do nicely.

Solution No. 8.

A LITTLE AIR.

A learned man named Caspar Neumann whom we will meet again claimed that all that was necessary was the admission of a little air into the crystal phial to produce the liquefaction. Strange that Sir Humphrey Davy could not solve it so easily![5]

[5] Hübner — *Geographie Universelle,* 1757, Vol. VI., p. 495. No wonder that Michaud, the historian of the Crusades, declared that Hübner's work "as regards history contains many useless, inexact and even false things." Postel, p. 327.

Addison was quoted in the early part of this work but it is scarcely necessary to give him any more attention as all he did was to call the wonder a bungling trick and then, forgetting conveniently to tell how it was done, to add with an allusion to the melting incense of Horace: "One may see at least that the heathen priesthood had the same kind of secret among them of which the Roman Catholics are now masters." This kind of condescending profundity shines elsewhere in his accounts of his travels as some nonadmirer made clear when "*A Table of all the Accurate Remarks and surprising Discoveries of the most learned and ingenious Mr. Addison in his Book of Travels thro' several Parts of Italy, etc.,*" was published at London, in 1706, and from this pamphlet we cull the following gems of research, information and originality: "People in warm countries complain not of cold." "Uncultivated plants rise naturally about."

Solution No. 9.

WATER, LIME AND SATAN.

Peter Molinaeus, a Calvinist and author of many works in his day, believed that some water and lime were introduced into the reliquary and when mixed, heat enough was developed to liquefy the blood.[6] That heat would liquefy blood he evidently took for granted. But how could these ingredients be introduced when the whole transaction was so public? Peter, who had apparently been a diligent student of the Magdebury Centuriators, replied in their spirit: "By the aid of the devil," which answer resembles a sentence in the New Testament. Why, then, sometimes no liquefaction? Because sometimes the devil cannot work miracles on account of the presence of pious people. But how could there be any people, pious in Peter's eyes, in such a city as Naples? Peter modestly replies, that he himself or others of his persuasion might be present! And thus Peter passes a good examination in his catechism and his answers have at least this merit, that they recognize the publicity of the procedure and the necessity of something supernatural to explain the mystery in any satisfactory manner.

[6] *Vates seu de Præcognitione futurorum bonis malisque Prophetis,* Ludg., 1640, Lib. V, c. 14.

Solution No. 10.

DELIQUESENCE.

A substance is said to deliquesce when it dissolves gradually and becomes liquid by the absorption of moisture from the air. Maybe this is one of those substances. It certainly does not belong to that class to judge by its appearance: it often liquefies suddenly and sometimes only in parts, but it does not follow the course of deliquescence as can be seen by recalling what has been already said about the various ways in which the liquefaction occurs: there is no chance for free communication with the outside air as we see from the description of the reliquary: no connection has ever been discovered between the hygrometric state of the atmosphere and the occurrence or non-occurrence of the liquefaction; and finally the solidification and fusion of the substance has taken place repeatedly and rapidly within a very short time without any corresponding rapid change in the atmosphere. Mt. Vesuvius has been a constant incentment to close study and observation of the atmosphere and its variations, so it is not at all likely such remarkable changes could take place unnoticed. As a matter of fact no one at all conversant with the phases of the liquefaction would dream now of attributing it to the dryness or moisture of the air.

Solution No. 11.

WAX AND HEAT.

When the French were in power at Naples they wished to see the liquefaction but the clergymen were unwilling to please the foreign General, therefore a French chemist who was attached to the army examined the affair and discovered that the teca was placed upon a small lighted brazier and that the blood was only a piece of sealing wax. How very rationalistic! This is a journalistic popular version of the Championnet incident. There is another one more in line with the story that Dumas tells but in it the commander actually lays his pistols upon the altar. What a very politic thing that would have been among the Italian lazzaroni — a nice little spark in a powder magazine!

Solution No. 12.

MERCURY.

Lalande says that the Prince of San Severo had a teca made similar to that of St. Januarius, filled with an amalgam of gold and mercury, with cinnabar to color it.[7] There was a hidden reservoir of mercury and a little opening which, when the teca was inclined or turned up, per-

[7] Lalande *Voyage d'un Français en Italie*, 1768, Vol. VII.

mitted a little more mercury to enter. The government heartlessly forbade the working of this miracle we are informed and somehow or other, strange to say, it was never exported and probably never heard of again before its final disappearance, except perhaps once, and this was when La Condamine made a report to the Academie des Sciences in 1757, printed in its *Memoires* in 1762, wherein he describes a very ingenious machine containing two cones of some metal unknown to him, and an amalgam of mercury, lead and bismuth. The exhibitor promised La Condamine in Naples an exact description with a diagram of all the parts. The promise was subsequently renewed but alas never kept. Very probably it was the same contrivance as San Severo's and if not it was at least equally successful. Anyhow we hear no more of any "very ingenious machines" to overthrow the fame of the phial of the Bishop of Benevento.

Solution No. 13.

ELECTRICITY.

Some have even pushed forward this force so modern in its developments as the cause in some way or other, it did not matter how, of the marvellous fusion of blood. Trifles of chronological differences do not interfere with hypotheses

formed to overthrow miracles. Neither does the unimportant factor of a wire and the difficulty of concealing it now or a thousand years ago bother the brains of these workers. Perhaps it is by means of induction, or wireless communication or X-rays, etc. Let us not disturb them, but pass on to another attempt to answer the sphinx.

Solution No. 14.

SAGO, MILK AND ETHER.

When all the various phenomena and their antiquity are borne in mind, it seems a waste of time to give the following formulas for the imitation of the Neapolitan wonder, yet they are in a way instructive and though absurd at bottom they have at least in appearance enough to recommend them to hasty readers and consequently we will give them if for no other reason than to complete this list of failures.

Dissolve at moderate heat ten grains of white sago and add milk tinged with carmine; add also twelve grains of ether and place the mixture in a crystai bottle tightly corked. The mixture when cold has some consistency, but the heat of the hand or of a candle suffices to melt it. This was given triumphantly in 1858, by the newspaper called *Le Siècle,* supposed to be an organ of light, and reprinted in many journals, including the

London Times. Larousse in his well-known dictionary gives a similar compound. If anyone is content with this imitation we will throw in the ether free of charge and free of all duty to chronology.

Dr. Punzo, by way of experiment, after many trials, made a preparation less unsatisfactory than the others, composed of alcoholic tincture of chelidonia saturated with castile soap, to which was added a slight amount of ammonia. This melted by the heat of the hand. These two trials simply succeeded in making a mixture that would melt when slightly heated.

Solution No. 15.

HOT WATER.

A writer in a magazine published in this country suggested that hot water might be concealed in the handle, but his piercing intellect never suggested to him to reveal how the priests could hold it, or how about the others who have it in their hands, or how keep the supply of hot water during the long hours on the altar, or how manage to conduct it to the handle while carried in procession in midday before the gaze of all the multitude; these and other points bristling with difficulties he so conveniently passed over that "perhaps the author of this explanation was a

wag, making game of the gullible readers of an anti-Catholic magazine. If he was in earnest, we regret he did not turn his brilliant talents to the task of discovering perpetual motion."[8]

Solution No. 16.

CHOCOLATE, CHEESE AND SALT.

In 1890, Professor Albini, before the Royal Academy of Physical and Mathematical Sciences of Naples, claimed he had a mixture of fine powdered chocolate, sugared water, cheese whey, and salt, which when allowed to remain stationary would partly solidify and after some shaking the mass would begin to move. Sometimes it would leave no trace on the part of the glass it had passed over and sometimes it would and these traces when thick gave an appearance of fulness, etc. It is scarcely necessary to add that Professor Albini, though a man of high standing as a scientist, forgot to view the liquefaction itself and to note its peculiarities. Had he done so he would not lose his time over such compoundings. Other trials were made with gelatine, butter, etc. All these failed to liquefy under the proper conditions.[9]

Professor Albini's mixture was not intended to

[8] *Cath. World*, Vol. XIV, p. 529.
[9] Sperindeo op. cit., p. 25.

be heated but simply shaken, as he excluded heat as the possible cause of the fusion in the teca. Some of these mixtures were exposed to heat with the result that in a single bottle the heat of a candle always melted at first only the exposed side of the compound: placed within a second glass they required intense heat. Glass is a bad conductor of heat. The glass of the teca is plain, possessing no magnifying or concentrating power: the air between the phials and their cover is still worse, so the heat from kissing the external glass is practically nil, especially since it takes place after the liquefaction, very few doing so beforehand. What heat could a lighted candle exert held only at intervals and for a moment behind the reliquary at a distance of three or four inches? The other candles are not many in number and are four or five feet off. Cardinal Caracciolo who died about 1840 once extinguished them all, and the single candle is now done away with.

Solution No. 17.

AN AFTER-DINNER EPISODE.

Caspar Neuman, a Royal Councillor, medical doctor and author of several works on chemistry, invited once a few friends to dinner and after they had enjoyed the good things solid and liquid

provided and were in a fit condition for serious work and steady observation, the genial host produced a skull and three phials each containing some black dry looking substance. He presented the first phial to the head and the substance liquefied, grew red and boiled and increased and filled the phial (according to one account): the second was presented and its contents only boiled; and the third remained inert, and this after-dinner experiment "made in Germany" in 1734 was widely hailed as an imitation and full exposure of the great wonder of Naples![10] It is easy to produce a substance that will melt with the heat of the hand and even to cause some bubbling or foaming to supervene; easy to have a compound to melt partially and easy to have one melt at all, but what has this childish trick to do with the liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood? And this distinguished and dignified man of science had a *skull* there! Thus was the "secret of the monks," as Hübner ignorantly styles it, revealed to the whole world. The whole world was ap-

[10] Biblioteca Germanica, Lit. 29, an. 1734.— In the British Museum is a leaflet entitled, "Relation du Miracle de la Liquefaction du Sang à l'imitation du celuy Qui se pratique à Naples au sang prétendu de St. Janvier,— Se trove a Conigsberg dans l'Imprimerie de Stelter, 1734." The name of Caspar Neumann is not given if we remember correctly, but the account of the "imitations" is substantially the same, though this version has embellished the story with several additions not apparently to be found in the original. See p. 533, *Cath. World*, Vol. XIV.

parently not yet satisfied, for more "solutions" and "revelations" and "imitations" continued to appear with gratifying regularity.

Solution No. 18.

AQUA FORTIS AND COCHINEAL.

Bishop Douglas of Salisbury, England, published *A Criterion for distinguishing the Miracles of the New Testament from the Tricks of Pagan and Papal Priests.* "I am informed (for I have never tried the experiment myself) that a composition of *crocus martis* and *cochineal* will perfectly resemble congealed blood and by dropping the smallest quantity of *aqua fortis* amongst the composition, its dry particles will be put into a ferment, till at last an ebullition is excited and the substance becomes liquid." Then he adds that the reliquary is like an hour-glass; in the upper part is the mixture; in the lower drops of *aqua fortis.* When the miracle is needed, turn up the hour-glass shaped reliquary: the *aqua fortis* drops upon the mass: the mass bubbles: reverse the glass: the mass drops down like sand in an hour glass, and there you have the miracle of St. Januarius! Surely this is a very pretty conceit as old writers called some of their queer old recipes and merits to be included in some kind of an "Enquire Within" as an *Infallible Receipt*

for Producing a Roman Catholic Miracle at Will. It is so pretty that it and its author, who might have sought information before enlightening others, deserve only a smile of contempt. As for his love of truth, we cannot expect too much in an opponent of Rome in those days before the time of Canon Kingsley, a well-meaning man.

Solution No. 19.

SECRET HEAT.

May there not be in the metal part of the reliquary some hidden tube or tubes by which, for instance, water and sulphuric acid or hot water or hot air might be secretly introduced? If so, they cannot be detected by any ordinary examination or even by the close scrutiny of doubters and scientists.[11] Let us suppose they are present and chemicals can enter. The heat or the liquefaction would manifest itself at one point, the metal would show an increase of temperature; but to the touch the latter is not perceptible nor to the eye is the former. When it is borne in mind that grains of sand have been observed in it and also apparently a tiny bit of straw, would not the constant use of chemicals cause a radical change in the normal appearance of the substance?

[11] "That there are no concealed tubes in the bottle can be ascertained when the blood is in a liquid state simply by turning the bottle upside down, thus laying the bottom bare." P. J. Dallas — *The Messenger,* Vol. 48, no. 5, p. 423.

Could those chemicals enter unperceived? It is very doubtful. If they did, how long would the heat generated last? How long would the liquefaction endure? Would not it liquefy from the surface downwards? Would it be uniform? Could any quantity be introduced without augmenting the volume of the contents, and if not, how account for the diminution also observed after liquefaction? And if the chemicals introduced caused a reduction, how account for the increase? How account for liquefaction when alone on altar?

And if it is lawful to think that chemicals can be so arranged as to produce those strange effects, how account for such wonderful knowledge of chemistry centuries and centuries ago? Are we to invent a miracle to avoid one? As the distinguished Fergola is said to have exclaimed in substance: "How marvellous the chemistry of the canons of the Treasury of St. Januarius! The miracle is taken away from a dead saint to attribute it to living men."

Solution No. 20.

FONDLED MIXTURE.

One of the latest claimants to the honor of solving the puzzle is no less a person than Andrew D. White, LL. D. Few men have appar-

ently consulted as many books as he. His pages are fringed with references to a width that no Pharisee's phylactery of old could have equalled. It is to be hoped that the following is not a fair sample of his historical research and critical ability but simply a nod *à la* Homer. The ex-president of Cornell University saw the miracle in 1856, and yet he wrote: "To the scientific mind this miracle is very simple. The vials contain, *no doubt,* one of those mixtures fusing at low temperature, which when kept in its place within the cold stone walls of the church remain solid, but upon being brought out into the hot, crowded chapel, and *fondled* by the warm hands of the priests, gradually softens and becomes liquid." [12]

The Italics are ours. It was not fair to make those poor words stand upright under the heavy burden they have to carry. Not a word of inquiry or of investigation! Not a scientific mind in all Naples famous for its schools and its professors! Not one of the teachers of the Royal University nor the well known Fergola at their head saw the simplicity of the miracle! Not a glance at the fact that the reliquary is not fondled, that it could not be fondled, that fondling would have no more effect than a stroke of a cat's tail

[12] *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology,* Vol. II., p. 80. In 1890 solder was used to repair the reliquary. The Archbishop who was holding it observed the teca was quite warm, but the blood did not liquefy.

upon an elephant's hide, that the temperature of the niche in the cold stone walls is about the same as in the chapel, that it liquefies suddenly or only after long hours, that it hardens and fuses again without anyone approaching it, that it increases and decreases in volume, that many eyes have keenly observed it and many minds earnestly studied it, that there is preserved for centuries a register of its various and conflicting phenomena, not a word of all this, not a moment's consideration! He rushes in to pluck the heart of the mystery and the result — he betrays a confidence in his rashly drawn conclusion that stamps him as a supreme egotist and a credulity in believing that all who investigated before his day were deceived by a simple everyday phenomenon, that shows conclusively he had never learned to pause before judging, a credulity too crass to be attributed to a savage. And Mr. White was once a professor and even a university president. We wonder did he teach his pupils to decide things so offhand, to judge a case before hearing it, to declare in so many words that they alone have eyes to see and brains to examine? Did he ever encourage them to print their premature and egotistic *ipse dixits* under the delusion that thereby they were enlightening the world and thus to follow his example and yet fondly imagine they were *moujiks* of scientific advancement?

Of course, as Mr. White believes "in a Power in the universe, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness and in love of God and of our neighbor," we are precluded from thinking that any religious prejudice blinded him in this case and caused him to jump in the dark. But our comment upon his statement being based upon facts can stand without justification other than its truth, and since he asserts what is not true we are also compelled to put him along with some others in the class of witnesses which come under Hurter's vigorous characterization.

This author asks us to believe that popes have come and cardinals and bishops and priests and kings and princes and scientists and lawyers and doctors and naturalists and writers and historians and travellers and thousands and thousands of people to see a compound melt because it is brought from a cold receptacle into a warm place! He wants us to reject without any explanation what has been wonderful for hundreds of years and before myriads of people. What a miracle he asks us to believe in! And upon what testimony? His assertion.

It is hard to believe that he had even peeped at the "interesting series of articles" in the *Catholic World* for 1871 though he refers so to them in a footnote, since he had the cool assurance to write: "The contents of these precious vials are

an interesting relic indeed, for they represent to us vividly that period when men who were willing to go to the stake for their religious opinions, thought it not wrong to save the souls of their fellowmen by pious mendacity and consecrated fraud." Such an indictment as this would stagger even a Burke. When the Psalmist sang; "I have said all men are liars," he added; "in my haste." Mr. White however had no qualms of conscience, no doubt of his superior wisdom and righteousness. Not a hint that perhaps all were innocently deceived.

We do not deny that there have been false miracles, false relics and even false saints and that the number of these viewed apart by themselves may seem considerable but viewed in comparison with the immense aggregate of miracles, relics and saints for which there exists good historical testimony, they are after all only a drop in a bucket.[13] It must be remembered that during

[13] "It may still be objected that it is an undeniable fact, that church history is replete with false legends and spurious miracles and that from the impossibility of discerning true and genuine miracles from such as are false, it would be wise to reject them all indiscriminatingly.

"To this I thus reply and ask, will sound logic sanction this strange way of reasoning: there is a false and spurious coin, therefore there is no genuine coin: there are errors among men therefore there is no truth: the testimony of the senses and the testimony of men have at times deceived men, therefore they always deceive men. Philosophy frowns at such conclusions and directs us to argue with an ancient keen philosopher (Tertullian) in a quite contrary way: there exists a spurious coin, therefore there

the space of nineteen hundred long years many thousands of saints, tens of thousands of miracles and hundreds of thousands of relics would accumulate, if the expression be permitted, so that if even a large proportion had been proved false it would not be so astonishing but that so very few have really turned out bogus is altogether surprising to the man of knowledge and experience of human nature. Church authorities never, willingly and knowingly, encouraged any impostors and impostures whatsoever, but on the contrary repudiated, denied, destroyed whenever the truth was made plain and if in some rare cases the truth was not discovered more quickly and surely it was due simply to the lack of a quality and a method of comparatively late growth, namely a wise incredulity and a keener criticism and above all research into primitive documents. No honest student of history will question this statement. Mr. White's account and remarks concerning the liquefaction are a

exists a genuine one, because the spurious is but an imitation of the genuine one. . . . At times our senses and men deceive us; therefore they always do so; if this conclusion be true, then it will be absolutely impossible to be sure of anything that surrounds us or that has come to pass before us, and it will be very easy for anyone to prove to you, that Alexander and Cæsar are nothing but empty names of imaginary beings that never existed and that this universe itself is nothing more than an empty dream. Such reasoning therefore is not philosophical." Kohlmann — *Unitarianism.* Washington, 1821–2, Vol. II., p. 119. An able work.

calumny on his own eyes and a revelation of his own mental and moral make-up exceedingly unpleasant to behold.

His easy solution, we need scarcely add, has not stopped the progress of investigation.

When the above words were written we did not dream that so soon some other solution, brannew, would be attempted, but the unexpected has happened and all we can do is to tell what it is and to congratulate the other solvers of the puzzle of Naples upon the company in which they find themselves.

Solution No. 21.

A calf's blood and an engineer.

On Saturday, Dec. 23, 1906, there were assembled about two thousand persons in the *Casa del Popolo* in Rome to see the overthrow of the Neapolitan fraud and the latest achievement of science. The main promoter of the meeting was Podrecca, the director of the disgusting pornographic journal *Asino*, and Romualdi of the socialist and infidel *Avanti* was a worthy assistant. To give an air of distinction they selected an unknown "celebrity" bearing the name of Arnaldo Giaccio from Campobasso and styled, no one seems to know why, engineer, whose only

studies apparently had been made in the school of pharmacy at Naples.[14]

This gentleman had a teca containing a phial resembling the one at Naples and in it, so he declared, "was coagulated calf's blood" mixed with a "homogeneous" substance. This teca was placed upon a small table on which stood five candles, one of these being behind the teca at the distance of scarcely an inch. While awaiting the liquefaction of the compound Signor Podrecca amused the audience with remarks and jokes in the choicest style of the *Asino*, and of course the church, her priests and miracles were coarsely ridiculed. The "Engineer" also took part in this elevating and refining program and to give the whole meeting a literary tone and strictly scientific air, quotations were introduced from the works of the Devil's poet Laureate, Carducci, author of the "Hymn to Satan." [15]

When time passed and no liquefaction took

[14] The main authority for the facts in this case is *La Civiltá Cattolica* for March 2, 1907, where the correspondence is given *in extenso*. Giaccio's attempt sprang partly from the excitement aroused in the Italian Parliament by a socialist deputy, who sought to have the visit of the Duke of Aosta, commander of the Tenth Corps of the Army to the liquefaction, disavowed by the government. The answer was, that it was a case of liberty of conscience.

[15] Of that Carducci who in the midst of his greatest joys and triumphs wrote to a friend: . . . Dire che nulla mi manca. . . . Ma mi manca il meglio. Ahime!" He died Feb. 1907.

place the audience becoming impatient, Signor Arnaldo Giaccio commenced to move the teca horizontally over a candle and he, honest man, explained that was the way they did it at Naples. After fifty minutes of anxious waiting, Podrecca cried out that the miracle had taken place, the substance had liquefied, it had filled the ampulla and the teca was replaced on the table. No one was permitted to view it closely, the public had to be content with his word. The hour was late, the crowd dispersed, the latest victory of science was amply demonstrated and the miracle of St. Januarius was totally discredited.

A mere recital of such a farce suffices to show its absurdity and inutility, but to complete the story of this fiasco it may be added that some young Catholic doctors were present and when two of them ventured to criticize the method of demonstration, they were howled down by the anticlerical audience, but not before Signor Podrecca in an unlucky moment for him challenged them to another meeting and another experiment under conditions to be agreed upon later.

Next day Drs. Cingolani and Serafini presented the conditions for a new experiment, demanding that blood must be permitted to coagulate in a laboratory in presence of both parties, that it must be inclosed in a safe place until May under three keys, one of which was to be in the

custody of each party and of a third chosen by agreement, and that in May the contents of the ampulla should reproduce the extraordinary phenomena witnessed in the phial of St. Januarius, i. e., variability of the point of fusion at a temperature varying from 19° to 30°C; variability of the time required for the fusion within the same degrees, and variability in the volume and weight of the contents of the ampulla. These conditions were justly proposed as the experiment was claimed to reproduce the liquefaction as it was observed in Naples. Needless to say they were rejected, especially the last condition as opposed to the iron law of Lavoisier, according to which nothing is created, nothing is destroyed.

The young doctors might have remained content with this back down but two others, Dr. Luzzi and Dr. Mancini, took up the matter and proposed simply that the blood be prepared before witnesses, that a portion of it after Signor Graccio had added his preparation, be preserved for six months and then made to liquefy completely within the limits of the ordinary temperature, the teca not to display a higher temperature than the one at Naples and after the liquefaction the contents were to be allowed to coagulate and then again be made to liquefy. Here it can be seen the conditions made were few and simple and only liquefaction demanded, in other words,

a repetition of what had taken place in the Casa del Popolo according to the accounts published in the *Avanti*. To bring the matter to a decision a thousand francs were deposited with a notary to be at the disposal of the winner in the contest.

Needless to say once more to those who know the slippery qualities of such infidel antagonists, these conditions were refused in a cloud of words which repeated twice that the miracle of St. Januarius had been successfully imitated and could be imitated, etc., etc., and though the four doctors asked not once but after an interval of two weeks a second time whether their conditions were not in accordance with scientific precautions to prevent fraud and with the account given of the public experiment in one of their own journals, the only answer they received was silence, and when the time-limit of the challenge had elapsed, a further letter to the gallant *Avanti* elicited only a reply to the effect that it had neither time nor space to discuss idle stories. And thus ingloriously terminated the last solution and Podrecca Giaccio and Romnaldi take quietly and deservedly their place along with Mr. Johnson and Mr. White, and other such honorable gentlemen in the gallery adorned with the statues of Ananias and Sapphira.

Solution No. 22.

HYPNOTISM.

Everyone has read of the wonderful tricks of conjurors in India where the spectators are made to see a plant grow and a boy climb up it, and in explanation we are told the conjuror has simply hypnotized his audience and causes them to see in their imagination whatever he wishes. This idea has not as yet been utilized to explain the liquefaction but it is simply hinted at here so that some poor puzzled rationalist may take refuge behind it.

A suggestion was added to one solution without any advertence to its number in the series 13 and when this last solution, 22, was suggested it was with the hope that between the two the way would be barred to any new arrivals, as the space allotted to the feeble-minded was too crowded, but suggestion evidently cannot be trifled with especially when there are minds around "weakened by indolent vacuity of thought or strained by a modicum of unassimilated knowledge," as here comes one more candidate for admission, well qualified as the first glance shows and yet withal bringing some hope of relief unconscious to himself as fate assigns to him a modern mystic and we trust prophetic number.

Solution No. 23.

PSYCHICAL ENERGY.

In Sept. 1908, just a day previous to the exposition of the relics a small pamphlet appeared at Naples in which the miracle was explained and "easily" explained by an externalization of psychic energy! O, Mr. Andrew White, how you are surpassed and "easily" surpassed by this modern miracle-smasher and he does the job so neatly that he does not even hurt the feelings of the priests or the faithful, for he exonerates them from all fraud. What else could he do? the reader might ask in view of his theory. It would certainly be too much to claim the canons knew of the externalization of psychic energy, especially as it finds even now but little favor: bad enough to endow them with a preternatural knowledge of chemistry but this more-blessed-than-Mesopotamia-sounding theory could not have been theirs else no one would or could ever have discovered it. Can the reader of the pamphlet in turn excuse the author, Fusco Michele, as he calls himself from all fraud? Hardly as we shall see presently.[16]

Passing over some dubious facts stated with-

[16] Fusco Michele — *Il Miracolo di S. Gennaro,* Napoli., 1908.

out any exact references and mentioned to lend color to his claims, we come to his theory which is, that from all the brains of the faithful present in the church, vibrating in unison, there is exteriorized a great quantity of psychic energy which forms as it were an immense atmosphere of cogitation, a most powerful force, etc., which is capable of producing physical and chemical effects — let us add, in a bottle of dried-up blood inclosed within a second bottle! They wish it to liquefy and it liquefies, such is the theory in simple words. How charmingly simple and how surprisingly clear, how scientifically he leaps gracefully over the chasm between psychical and physical! Let all the other Illuminati uncover and salute him, their master, while the remark is being made outside of the inclosure that this theory needs no comment. The author himself admits that it will make some laugh but the reason he gives is the ignorance prevailing about psychic force. Maybe they will laugh for some other cause but it is plain they will laugh.

What of the fraud in his pamphlet hinted at above? Having stated that the verification of the miracle is in direct proportion to the religious sentiment which manifests itself as psychic force, he goes on to show that the liquefaction always happened when the religious sentiment was pres-

ent, a *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. He knows better. Sometimes it did not happen even when the faithful were raised up to the highest pitch of fervor as during the years of the plague in 1527–29; it takes place often before a few; it remains liquid when the multitude has departed; it solidifies and liquefies in presence of the same and instantly; it has been found liquid, and finally all the other extraordinary accompaniments of the marvel the author dismisses on the score of brevity and ease of explanation.

The retort to the whole theory is obvious and we do it too much honor to have treated it seriously even for a paragraph, and Signor Fusco Michele saw it well and tried to dodge it by admitting that he could not reproduce the miracle. We believe him quite sincere in that statement but the cause he alleges for his inability is about as contemptible as it is amusing — he has not at his disposition a large number of people filled with fanatic religious zeal. So psychic energy to be efficient must be religious! What an admirable means of discovering true religious spirit is put into our hands, and if true would not his theory be somewhat of a boomerang? According to witnesses, however, one or two persons have sufficed to liberate enough psychic force to liquefy the blood, but the gentleman is too utterly

ingenuous. He does not know his own power. Let him gather a few thousand anarchists and infidels filled with great zeal against law and religion. Let him confine them in some funnel-shaped or rotunda-like hall that the combined vibrations of their united brains may be more easily concentrated on one spot. Let some orators rant and rave and spout and recite hymns to the spirit of negation to inflame their minds until their cerebra or (if absent which is not unlikely) their cerebella are in an alarming almost apoplectic white-heat fury of vibrations and oscillations and then focus all this "most powerful force" upon, say — a stump of a tallow candle and watch it melt. The candle might even be lighted were it not for fear of another phenomenon known as instantaneous combustion. If the candle should melt under these conditions, and what psychologist could doubt it, repeat the exhibition under more scientific precautions such as keeping the temperature of the hall below 55° Fahrenheit and the faces of the audience about 69 centimetres from the periphery of the exposed candle.

One important matter was overlooked in setting down those conditions, an omission which might vitiate entirely the scientific value of the experiment, nay an omission which rendered it

a practical impossibility. The learned author, Fusco Michele, is pleased to insist that the immense psychic force should have a religious hue and this seems at first sight an insurmountable obstacle with his friends in view: in reality it is but a trifle. As we proposed the trial the antecedent or sentiment would be anti-religious, plainly the consequent should be of the anti-class also, reverse then the miracle, make it an anti-melting effect, ex. gr. put a piece of clear, pure ice in that focus and let it remain if possible without a tear on its bright surface in the midst of that company. Or if Fusco wants to make the experiment a still more crushing one let him produce not merely a contradictory consequence but a contrary one by placing a cup of wine in the focus and letting it solidify. The substance in itself would have a strong tendency to concentrate the vibrations of the assembled conglomerations of gray matter but we are willing to throw this advantage into the bargain for the sake of seeing the combination of the hatred of the good with the love of good things, for this hatred and love are by no means incompatibilities.

Too much time has been devoted to this farcical pamphlet, which is but a reproduction of the "scientific hypothesis" of a "mysterious cur-

rent" from the assembled multitude, published a few years previously by another deep thinker.[17] It may be, after all, but a practical joke of some one who writes under the name of Fusco Michele, which reminds us of Vetter Michel, the German term for a good-natured, stupid fellow.

The striking experiments of Dr. Sperindeo aroused opposition. M. Berthelot wrote in 1904 to the Free-thinkers' Congress, Rome, declaring against all dogmatic systems. Catholic journals at once defied him with the miracle of St. Januarius. Professor Aulard of the Sorbonne took up his pen on his friend's behalf and attempted to settle the question by irony and charging trickery. Challenged by Professor Cavène of Cette, the Sorbonne warrior took refuge in silence.

Dr. Ladenburg, professor of chemistry at Breslau, during the 75th Congress of German physicians denied all miracles and asserted that the supernatural took birth only in ignorant brains. Abbè Anton Weber of Mettendorf, Bohemia, challenged him, under a wager of 1,000 crowns to explain naturally the liquefaction. What did the doughty doctor do? He did, what all these cowards do — he took refuge in silence.[18]

In 1907, a Dr. di Colli of Florence liquefied at

[17] Luigi di Pace — *Ipotesi scientifica sulla liquefazione del Sangue di S. Gennaro.* Naples, 1906.

[18] *Le Célèbre Miracle de S. Janvier,* Paris, 1909, p. 197, etc.

a theatre a substance which he had brought with him in a bottle, and thus, once more, was the Wonder of Naples laid bare! There is ample room, notwithstanding the crowd, in the well-known gallery.

CHAPTER XV

"All men are vain who by attending to the works have not acknowledged the work of God."—Wis. 13, 1.

THE CONTENTS OF THE PHIALS — THE PHIAL AND THE SPECTROSCOPE — THE PHIAL AND THE THERMOMETER — THE PHIAL AND THE POINT OF FUSION — THE PHIAL AND THE SCALE — THE PHIAL AND PROPOSED ANALYSIS.

The Romans and North Africans like the Egyptians of old used perfumes in burying their dead and the Jews did likewise, a custom seen in our Lord's burial. The early Christians continued this practice as Tertullian informs us, who tells how lavish the faithful were and that they purchased more spices for their dead than the pagans did for their gods.[1] These perfumes as Boldetti, Mamachi and others remarked could have contributed to the fragrance of exhumed martyrs' bodies, but of course it would be absurd and contrary to plain facts to ascribe all such fragrance to natural causes, even though apart from ex-

[1] *Apologeticus*, Chap. 43, 145.

ternal causes [2] some modern authors declare that bodies dead of certain diseases may give forth pleasant odors. Not all saints whose opened tombs exhaled fragrant odors died of these diseases and not all martyrs were buried with perfumes! No one will be inclined to disbelieve that a few of the phials found in graves may have contained spices or balms but receptacles for such perfumes differ ordinarily in size and shape from blood ampullæ. That those which contained blood had also some spices does not at first sight seem very improbable but it is more likely that they did not as such phials would be closed promptly; yet if intended to be preserved as relics it is not inconceivable that they had, though no traces of drugs have been found in such ampullæ. If we consider these drugs as antiseptics, the probability of their use is somewhat increased.

Is there any such mixture in the phial of St. Januarius? From its history as we know it we would answer in the negative. If this blood was in a phial opened from time to time and nothing marvellous was observed about it then, the possibility of some such drugs being present would certainly seem to increase but since miraculous phenomena were observed the possibility practi-

[2] Boldetti — *Osservazioni sopra i cimiteri cristiani*, p. 309. Mamachi — *De 'Costumi de 'Primitivi Cristiani*, Naples, ed., 1858, p. 419.

cally vanishes. If the phial was always closed from the beginning the right answer seems, no. Some grains of sand are probably in it and it is said they have been distinguished under a powerful magnifying glass but their influence may be safely set aside. No matter whether they contain sulphur or "sulphuretted potter's clay" from the Solfatara, or some compound of potash or of aluminum, etc., if there were any merely natural chemical changes in the phial it can be asserted that the contents would have been radically altered by this time.

Is there any blood in the phial? History and tradition proclaim it blood. And their testimony is perfectly admissible. Many witnesses have declared it such, having seen it in its liquid state. We have read elsewhere how emphatic all old-time observers were, whether they could observe it better than we can or not owing to a different arrangement of the teca, as to its being genuine blood and liquefying "so naturally that no blood from a vain could appear more lively," as Lord Perth wrote in 1696.

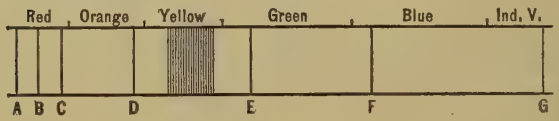
The hypothesis might be made that it is a compound looking like blood invented and substituted for, or brought forth as, the saint's blood several centuries ago but it would be waste of energy to discuss the subject with anyone capable of defending such a hypothesis after reading what has

been written. No one but an *à priori* anti-Romanist could believe such a thing, and as to the *à priori* rationalists, let them remember that even such a hypothesis would not lessen the mystery as we shall presently see.

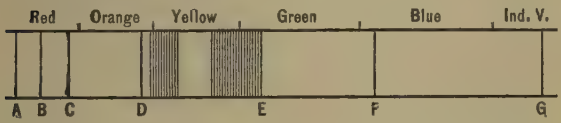
When a ray of sunlight is passed through a prism of glass it is decomposed into the tints observed in the rainbows and these colors are commonly, since Newton's time, distinguished into seven principal ones arranged in this order from right to left, violet, indigo, blue, green, yellow, orange and red. These colors, however, though they merge very gradually one into another, are broken by narrow dark lines. Fraunhofer of Munich, who was the first not to observe but to describe them in detail, mapped them out and denoted them by letters, A. B. C. D. E. F. G. and H. from left to right and the colors and the letters so occur that D can be said to be about the beginning of the yellow ray and E about the beginning of the green ray. As the sunlight always gives these dark lines in the same places, the sun's spectrum as it is called is taken as a standard of observation and measurement. Later it was observed that each metal when incandescent produced certain fixed colored lines of its own even when present in only minute quantities, so the spectroscope is a most admirable detective, keener far than Sherlock Holmes to discover the

presence of various metals and other substances. In other words every substance gives its own peculiar and well marked spectrum as each produces lines varying in color, position and size from all others. Sodium or common salt always gives a bright yellow ray which falls invariably in the same place as the dark line marked D in the sun's spectrum. It is therefore a very useful aid to determine which place that line would occupy when the sun's spectrum is absent.

If blood be examined by the spectroscope, it gives a well defined spectrum of its own. The solid coloring matter of blood is called hemoglobin. The blood to be examined may be venous or arterial. If arterial it contains more oxygen and it is then styled oxyhemoglobin: if venous, i. e., returning to the heart after its voyage through the body, it has lost some of its oxygen and it is then styled simply hemoglobin. The presence or absence of oxygen exerts such an influence upon the blood's spectrum that arterial blood or oxyhemoglobin has its own spectrum and venous or hemoglobin begets one of its own. The spectrum of venous arterial blood is as given here,



where we see a broad dark line between D and E, whereas the spectrum of arterial blood has two dark lines, not quite so broad,



one very near where the yellow band of sodium or the dark line D of the sun would be and the other approaching E. The dark band near D is always present in blood spectra. A mere drop of either blood is sufficient to give these distinctive and characteristic spectra, since one grain of hemoglobin in a pint and one-third of water suffices.[3]

The constituents of the distant stars can be determined without analysis, why not the nature of this substance close at hand? Apply the spectroscope. Professor Sperindeo determined to do so and to do so in a manner that would prelude all doubt. He mounted a drop of his own blood to get a spectrum for sake of comparison, and thus prevent error. Then with a good spectroscope and a light whose wick had been saturated with chloride of sodium to give the useful bright yellow line, he tilted the teca until he managed to

[3] Chapman — *Human Physiology,* 2nd ed., p. 219.

get a clear spectrum of the substance, as a thin layer of it spread over the inclined side of the phial, and thus along with Professor Januario of the Royal University, he observed both spectra, i. e., of his own blood and of the contents of the ampulla and in his own words: We saw immediately in the spectrum after the line D the dark band characteristic of blood followed by the other in the green and between the two a clear zone: in other words, he had found the spectrum of arterial blood. Professor Januario exclaimed: "I would like to photograph everything exactly!" The stains in the little phial gave the same results. It is beyond doubt that the reliquary of St. Januarius contains blood. It is worthy of remark that neither professor speaks of other lines or of any difficulty in deciding about the tale the spectroscope told. It would be a satisfaction if the spectrum of the phial were photographed.

This experiment was made, Sept. 25, 1902, during the time of preaching when the reliquary was carried behind the altar for this purpose. It was witnessed not only by the two professors mentioned but by many other persons. Professor Januario, who enjoyed a high reputation as a scientist, died before the results of the investigation were published, but Dr. Sperindeo took precaution to have testimonials furnished by the

deceased's friends as to his testimony to the outcome of their researches.

The constituents of human blood are given as follows by Dr. Chapman:[4]

Composition of the Blood.

	After Becquerel.	Flint.	
Water	790,070	154,870	
Albumen	71,530	329,820	Difference
Fibrin	2,500	8,820	in water
Corpuscle	125,000	495,590	635,200.
Remaining matters, salts	10,900	10,900	
	1,000,000	1,000,000	

The difference between the amount of water in the tables arises from the fact that in the first the albumen, fibrin and corpuscles were dried or desiccated when estimated, whereas in the second table they are estimated just as they are supposed to be found in living blood. The difference between the quantities of water shows how much water disappears in case evaporation takes place naturally or the blood is dried by heat. In round numbers it is about two-thirds of the entire mass. It is wise to bear this in mind when considering some of the phases shown by the blood in the ampulla.

Since the blood is said to be coagulated a word as to that process will be timely. Soon after it has left the body normal blood begins to coagulate. In from seven to sixteen minutes the whole mass becomes jelly-like; then exudes from the

[4] Op cit., p. 210.

contracting mass drop by drop a straw-colored or yellow fluid. The contracting and exuding continues until in from ten to fourteen hours the separation is complete.

Where you had blood now you have a mass more or less hard, a meshwork of fibrin and corpuscles, called *crassamentum sanguinis* or clot, and a yellow fluid composed of water, albumen and salts termed serum. The clot floats in the latter near the bottom as its specific gravity is higher being 1.088 than the serum's which is 1.028.

Let us suppose simple evaporation has taken place: the mass of blood is dry and reduced at least about two-thirds — when it liquefies whence comes the water or fluid necessary?

Suppose simple coagulation — then the clot is below and the serum above — how solidify if water be present? how liquefy if not present? Why in either case should the clot containing three times more solids than the serum liquefy as readily as the serum?

Suppose coagulation, yet when solid that there is no distinction between clot and serum, just an undistinguishable mass — would not such a solidification be a mystery, especially when it occurs instantly? The solidification is in reality almost as strange as the liquefaction though at first sight it does not seem so because we look for

a hardening or jellification of such a fluid long kept and because in the present instance the solid form is the more enduring of the two. If we suppose the blood to have become corrupted, the rapid liquefaction and solidification remain as inexplicable as before.

If we assume the blood was carefully sealed up, for the liquefaction to become noticeable, it must have been at least partially coagulated and dried up: then liquefaction would demand naturally, a supply of fluid, and this is excluded from the case according to all testimony and observation: if not carefully sealed up, the solidification would be natural, the blood having apparently centuries of rest and the same difficulty arises concerning the fluid required.

The very existence of the blood after the long space of sixteen hundred years is in itself a rather striking fact and it grows more astonishing when we remember that the blood was in all probability exposed to the air. Preserved in the undisturbed recesses of a grave in the catacombs and securely sealed where the temperature and hygrometric conditions remain practically unchanged for centuries, we can believe as we have seen in chapter the seventh the blood might retain some of its original qualities and bulk, but exposed as the blood of St. Januarius has been to wintry cold and summer heat its survival under these and all

the other surrounding conditions certainly calls for special remark.[5]

The fundamental difference between arterial and venous blood depends as stated upon the relative proportions of oxygen (and carbon dioxide) in each and upon this presence of oxygen depends likewise the difference in color, the arterial blood or oxyhemoglobin containing more oxygen is red or scarlet and the venous or hemoglobin containing less, about half as much as arterial, is blue or purple. This oxygen which may or may not be present in the blood is of course independent of the oxygen which enters into its molecular composition. Arterial blood sealed up loses gradually its oxygen and becomes like venous. From the dull brownish hue it presents at times, this blood would seem to have passed into the state of methemoglobin, or hemoglobin in a crystalline oxidized form whose spectrum is practically the same as that of arterial blood with the addition of a thin band in the red nearer the C line than the

[5] If preserved in an open vessel and not aseptic it should have corrupted long ago and been dissipated. If so preserved and aseptic it should have dried up and nothing remain or at most but a mere residuum. If in a closed vessel the continued existence of any substance, compound or not, asceptic or not, exhibiting such signs of violent agitation and alteration without at the same time any permanent observable change in its make-up or appearance would be in itself most remarkable even though its age were limited to a few centuries or even to a few decades.

D., that is, in alkaline solution: in acid solution it gives four bands.[6] The fact then that the spectrum obtained was a well-defined one of arterial blood may justly excite some surprise.

When blood is permitted to coagulate for observation the whole mass becomes jelly-like in from three to sixteen minutes and from this contracting jelly-like mass there gradually exudes drop by drop a fluid, the serum. This appearance of drops upon the surface of the contents of the phial has been observed several times but they appear out of season, for the blood was apparently quite hard when they came into view and we do not read anywhere that the drops accumulated to such an extent as to give the appearance of the regular separation of blood into clot and serum.

The liquefaction has so little method in its marvellous activity that it would be almost impossible to observe it so as to determine whether, at the times when it did present apparently some regular phase of coagulation, the other phases would also occur: thus after the drops appear did they ever follow after a partial hardening of the fluid mass as in ordinary coagulation; or would the *globo* so often remarked ever resemble in color and consistency the clot that floats in the serum during coagulation? From the data at

[6] Aberhalden — *Textbook of Physiological Chemistry*, London, 1908, p. 562.

hand, however, we conclude that the drops of serum came from a mass quite hard and that the *globo* was of the same color and density as the liquid portion. Once at least these drops turned into blood or at least became red while the mass remained hard. Judging from the regular process of coagulation these drops should not precede liquefaction and when we read one case after another where they appeared and no liquefaction followed, we are beginning to think, here, we have found regularity when a break comes — liquefaction did follow in two or three instances!

The liquefaction of blood being unknown to science has no known method of action and the most we might expect *a priori* and on very slight grounds would be some of the processes of coagulation in a reverse order, such as the serum showing first and the clot the last to become fluid. It may be suspected that the solidification followed a few times the ordinary lines of procedure because of the colors observed now and then in the phial. As the reader knows the ordinary blood clot shows sometimes much lighter in color on its upper side than below, being at times almost white and this appearance is known then as the buffy coat. We are not aware that anyone has studied the variation of color in the phial for sake of comparing it with the color changes in ordinary coagulation, but judging

from the phial's steady opposition to all known laws no regularity or conformity need be expected in this case any more than in any other of its numerous and peculiar phenomena.

The surface of the solid blood seemed to the writer slightly convex. Whether it ever shows "cupped" or not, he does not know.

Popular adverse opinion dwells upon the application of heat in some form or other. Under the conditions in which the blood is preserved change of external temperature is the only natural method we can entertain.[7] It is useless to consider the application of heat directly. Blood once coagulated cannot be rendered fluid and blood chemically preserved fluid cannot coagulate. Heat applied to coagulated blood dries and hardens it more completely. Coagulation itself is hastened by heat, over 100 degrees F. producing it rapidly. It may be retarded by motion or even hindered altogether by the addition of alkalies, ammonia, concentrated solutions of salts and especially sulphate of magnesia. At Benedict

[7] Some time ago the writer hazarded the remark that if the temperature of the blood when liquefied were taken it would probably be found to be that of normal living blood. Since then he has been struck by the fact that the authorities who wrote at an early date concerning the blood speak of its growing warm, for example, Gaguin. Their assertion if taken literally would tend to show that the phials were open or could be handled as otherwise it does not readily appear how the temperature could be noticed.

XIV's request, Professor Fortunio Liceto, a man of note in his day, applied heat to the blood of a lamb, etc., with the serum separated and not separated and even to the blood taken from the heart of a Jesuit.[8] In none of these experiments did the blood liquefy. The blood in the vial when hard shows no separation of the serum: It appears as said, dry, hard, clotted, etc. At rare times as stated a yellowish liquid resembling serum has shown itself.

Assuming the liquefaction to be a purely natural, though unknown process, and the substance in the ampulla to be an artificial mixture of some kind, let us see, fairly and squarely, if even then, since compounds are subject to nature's authority as well as simple elements, it will obey the known laws of Physics,

TEMPERATURE IN THE CHAPEL AND NICHE.

Dr. Sperindeo took the temperature both of the chapel when empty of people and all the candles extinguished, and of the reliquary by inserting a tested thermometer in the crown for support and placing the bulb against the metal part of the broad ring of silver holding the two glass sides, while the substance was quite liquid and had been so for five hours, so there was ample time to

[8] *De Canon. Sanctorum,* lib., 4, Chap. 31, a. II.

communicate some of its heat to the case if it had any extra. He found the two temperatures alike.[9]

The first time he took it there were several persons grouped around the teca, and he found a difference of over two degrees. This variation he attributed to their presence and therefore he returned the following day and used the above precaution. Consequently the fusion is not due apparently to heat in the reliquary.

The fusion is not owing to any difference of heat between the chapel and the niche, because when the reliquary was reposed at night he placed a good maximum and minimum thermometer in the niche itself and next morning 16°, 8′ C., was registered. When the instrument was put in the temperature was 17°, 1′ C., thus showing only a difference of 3′ Centigrade. The niche from its position, structure and freedom from currents of air is very dry. Neither was the temperature of the chapel, taken in May, 1890, notably different from the average temperature of the city, as was determined by comparing the degrees marked for a few days with those given in the Meteorological Bulletins of the Royal University of Naples. Take into account that on Sept. 19, 1879, the thermometer showing 30° C.

[9] The paragraphs dealing with the tests as applied to the teca of the spectroscope, balance and thermometer are taken almost entirely from Dr. Sperindeo's work.

or 86° F. in the chapel, over two hours passed before liquefaction set in and on Sept. 25th, of the same year, the thermometer being at 25° C. or 77° F. the time was only thirteen minutes.

Fergola published tables of observation made in Sept. 1794, and we learn from them that on four days the temperature was 80° F., and the time elapsed between the commencement of the exposition of the relics on the altar and the liquefaction was from ten to twenty-seven minutes, and in May, 1795, the temperature was 76 degrees on three days and the time varied from two to twenty-eight minutes and at 77 degress the time was once twenty-nine and once forty-one. Every known substance and every mixture fuses at a certain fixed temperature: the phial knows no such rule.

As the tables may be of interest to the reader, we give them here.

On the days marked with an asterisk the reliquary was placed on its stand upon the altar at mid-day for the afternoon intermissions. A silk veil was thrown over it and it was left undisturbed until three o'clock P. M. At that hour the blood was found hard each day and it liquefied again during the afternoon service. The numbers near the asterisks indicate the time required respectively for the afternoons of May 7, 8, 9.

Observations of temperature, time and character of the liquefaction of the Blood of St. Januarius, made by the Professors of the Royal University of Naples and published by Fergola.

Table I.

Sept. 1794.	F.	Celsus.	Time required.	Condition before and after.
19	80	26.66	27 minutes	From hard to liquid
20	80	26.66	21 "	" " " "
21	80	26.66	19 "	" " " "
22	78	25.55	24 "	" " " "
23	77	25.00	25 "	" " " "
24	78	25.55	5 "	" " " semi-liquid
25	80	26.66	10 "	" " " liquid
26	77	25.00	5 "	" " " "

Table II.

May 1795	F.	Celsus.	Time required.	Condition before and after.	
2	76	24.44	12 minutes	From hard to semi-liquid	
3	76	24.44	2 "	" " " perfectly liquid	
4	77	25.00	41 "	" " " "	
5	80	26.66	22 "	" " " "	
6	75	23.88	12 "	" " " "	
7	76	24.44	28 "	" " " "	20*
8	77	25.00	29 "	" " " "	7*
9	80	26.66	33 "	" " " "	25*
10	67	19.44	15 "	" " " "	

Table III.

Sept. 1795	F.	Celsus.	Time required.	Condition before and after.	
19	74	23.33	25 minutes	From hard to liquid with globe	
20	78	25.55	26 "	" " " perfectly liquid	
21	81	27.22	27 "	" " " "	"
22	78	25.55	25 "	" " " "	"
23	80	26.66	14 "	" " " "	"
24	81	27.22	32 "	" " " "	"
25	78	25.55	18 "	" " " "	"
26	74	23.33	3 "	" " " "	"

With regard to the terms used to express its fluidity it should be borne in mind that the state of liquefaction varies very much, being sometimes almost viscous and again quite liquid or fluid and sometimes extremely liquid and responding to motion as quickly as alcohol.

The *globo* may be present when the blood is semi-liquid or perfectly fluid and absent when it is very sluggish.

The temperature according to the centigrade thermometer was added by Sperindeo.

It will be interesting to compare with these tables the following one for May, 1908, just a hundred and three years later.

May	2,	Found	hard,	liq.	in	27 min.	without	globo	but	a	trifle dense.
May	3,	Found	liquefied.								
May	4,	Found	hard,	liq.	in	4 min.	without	globo	but	a	trifle dense.
May	5,	"	"	"	"	10 min.	"	"	"	"	"
May	6,	"	"	"	"	13 min.	"	"	"	"	"
May	7,	"	"	"	"	14 min.	"	"	"	"	"
May	8,	"	"	"	"	18 min.	"	"	"	"	"
May	9,	"	"	"	"	22 min.	"	"	"	"	"
May	10,	"	"	"	"	28 min.	"	"	"	"	"

The volume gradually augmented each day so that the last two days the phial was completely filled.[10]

FUSION AND PRESSURE.

Every substance, as just said, melts at a certain temperature. If subjected to pressure, the melting-point will usually be higher. The most important exception is ice whose melting-point is lowered by increase of pressure. The amount is 0.0074° C. for 1 atmosphere or 1° C. for 136 atmospheres.[11] Now it is well known

[10] *Bollentino Mensile di S. Gennaro ad Antignano,* June, 1908.

[11] Ostwald — *Grundriss der Allgemeinen Chemie,* p. 175.

that considerable pressure is also needed to raise the melting-point one degree: anywhere from 28 to 500 atmospheres to raise it from one to ten degrees for such substances as paraffin, sulphur, stearine, wax, etc. It can be seen at a glance that no such pressure could be exerted in an antique crystal phial, leaving aside all the other improbabilities and impossibilities involved under the circumstances in such a hypothesis. Neither, though as the phial fills the pressure may change, can we assume that the time required may perhaps correspond in some measure to this change, for the irregularity in the tables shows conclusively that no such correspondence exists. Diminution of pressure need claim no attention.

THE GLOBO AND MELTING POINT.

The *globo* or portion which remains, at times unliquefied presents some difficulties. It is of the same density as the rest of the matter, as is evident from the position it occupies and from the fact, that when it liquefies, there is no part of the liquid denser than another. Consequently it should have the same melting-point, yet sometimes it has remained solid for twenty-four hours as in May 1903, while the remainder was perfectly liquid. It varies in size and is often missing. Heat producing and maintaining liquefaction

could not, especially after some hours, but reach the *globo,* and it is to be borne in mind, that there has been observed no correspondence between the time elapsing before liquefaction or the temperature of the air or the greater or less fluidity of the substance and the presence or absence, size and continuance of the *globo.*

VARIABILITY OF VOLUME.

Most bodies expand when heated; some contract; others, very few, within certain limits, expand and contract, like iodide of silver, which from — 10 degrees C. to + 70 degrees C. contracts when heated and expands when cooled, as demonstrated by Fizeau, and every body under a certain pressure has a determined volume corresponding to its temperature. This increase or decrease, it need scarcely be said, in the case of solids and liquids is very minute; gases we need not consider here. The contents of the ampulla pay no attention to these laws. They expand, contract or remain invariable under the same atmospheric pressure and at the same temperature!

Dr. Sperindeo gives a table of thirteen solids, such as graphite, carbon, sulphur, arsenic, quartz, iodide of silver, etc., and a second table of ten liquids, such as sulphuric acid, alcohol, ether, etc., and by Fizeau's formula shows their corresponding coefficients of expansion. Since the tempera-

ture at which the liquefaction and solidification of the discussed substance takes place varies as a rule from 16 degrees C. to 27 degrees C., it is not necessary to go outside this range. The expansion may occur before or after or during the liquefaction. Taking, then, quartz and wood alcohol which have a very high expansion, and multiplying by the coefficients of expansion for every degree from 16 degrees C. to 27 degrees C. and adding the products together, the following are the results, assuming the contents of the phial to be when half full thirty cubic centimeters:

Quartz .....30 cm^3 x 0.000125559 = cm^3 0.003766777.
Wood Alcohol .....30 cm^3 x 0.013900219 = cm^3 0.41700657.

Thus if expansion occurs before liquefaction by the effect of heat, the greatest expansion taking quartz as a test would be 0.00376 of a cubic centimeter: if after liquefaction, the greatest expansion, taking wood alcohol as a test, would be 0.417006 of a cubic centimeter: and this latter the greater of the two expansions will not be surpassed if the expansion is partly before and partly after the liquefaction. Taking the longer diameter about the middle of the phial to be 5 centimeters across and the shorter to be 3cm, the level of the liquid would be raised either 0.000-25111 or 0.0278004; but in the phial there is actually an increase of nearly thirty cubic centi-

meters as it fills at times completely the empty half of the phial, the volume of which is about sixty cubic centimeters or two liquid ounces. Hence results an expansion at least 71 times greater than the ordinary maximum expansion within the selected degrees of temperature of the substances chosen for comparison! No such augmentation is known in physics.

It cannot be claimed that the expansion of the first day should be taken into account when estimating the expansion of the second day and so on, because a body at a given temperature should have a definite volume and when the temperature remains the same or rises or falls the volume should follow suit according to its conduct under heat, and moreover the increase in question often occurs in one day; but leaving aside these facts, the expansion of the selected substances at the end of nine days, under even this unreasonable supposition, would be for the solid, 0.00376777 x 9 = 0.033900999, and for the liquid, 0.417006573 x 9 = 3.753059339, leaving still the increase in the phial about eight times greater. If some one would demand that allowance for the increase of the daily increase be made, it would only bring the above sums up to about 0.033914 for the solid and 3.996858 for the liquid, which would not affect the result to any appreciable extent. These calculations are made

on the supposition that the volumetric augmentation is perfectly regular whereas it is extremely fluctuating as pointed out, sometimes occurring and sometimes not, now but a trifle and again as great as possible, one day rising slowly and steadily and another day rising rapidly and then as if to show its freedom from law it will rise and fall or fall and rise within a brief space of time.

Variability of Weight.

THE INCREASE AND THE SCALE.

A very radical and very vulgar anti-clerical paper published in Rome, self styled *Asino* or *The Ass,* objected to the statement that there was any real augmentation of matter. Such a thing would be a paradox, an impossibility, and all that was required to prove this was that Dr. Sperindeo should weigh the reliquary before and after the phenomenon. A suggestion so reasonable very seldom appears in its columns. Well, Dr. Sperindeo declares he did weigh the teca most carefully and repeatedly and he got the following results:

The teca with phial almost full	Kg. 1.01490
The teca with phial half full	0.98791
	0.02699

This difference of about 27 grams corresponds perfectly to an approximate diminution of volume of 23 to 24 cubic centimeters!

The tale the balance told was first published by Professor Januario in 1902 and the weighing took place either in September or December of the previous year. Father P. Silva, S.J., ex-professor of physics and now of the staff of the *Civiltá Cattolica,* was in Naples in September, 1904, and he and Dr. Sperindeo repeated the test of the balance, and this table appeared: [12]

Sept.	19,	weight of the teca:	gr. 1015,025
"	20,	" " "	" 1010,025
"	21,	" " "	" 1004,6
"	22,	" " "	" 1008,00
"	24,	" " "	" 1009,2
"	26,	" " "	" 1011,01

It is scarcely necessary to state that from a scientific standpoint, no matter what the substance may be assumed to be, this alteration of weight is one of the two strangest phenomena observed in connection with this mysterious phial, the change of the point of fusion being the other. H. Landolt who has made experiments for several years to see if compounds differed in weight from the combined weight of their elements, declares decisively that no change of weight occurs in the compounds he examined which would exceed the hundredth or thousandth part of a milligram. These minutes differences can easily be attributed to unavoidable errors.[13]

[12] *Omaggio,* p. 160.

[13] *Chemisches Centralblatt,* April 15, 1908. The only fact, if accepted as such, which resembles this change of weight is Sir William Crookes' experiments in presence

The change in volume is not merely a change then in appearance only but a real change in its mass! As Professor Sperindeo remarks, evaporation even if possible to any appreciable extent would not explain this phenomenon and how could evaporation take place in a vessel sealed as this one is sealed, and if it did how then account for the increase which occurs with a certain amount of regularity in May? Besides evaporation would have to be very great to reduce the volume by one-half in eight days.

The weight was ascertained by the method of double weighing, using as a counterpoise a handful of shot and the balance employed was always the same, true and very delicate. As the reader knows double weighing gives accurate results even though the balance were defective. The body to be weighed is placed on one scale and shot or sand poured into the other until equilibrium is established: then the body is removed and weights put in until the level is restored. Upon the teca no trace of humidity was observed and

of Mr. Home, which he himself relates in the *Quarterly Journal of Science* of Oct. 1871. See Rupert's *Modern Spiritism*, p. 31. The diminution of weight claimed for radioactivity is so very, very slight — for radium fifty per cent. in from 1000 to 2000 years — that it may be left out of the discussion, and likewise cast iron which by heat increases in bulk about 46 per cent. without any increase in weight. If the increase in volume came from a hidden source in the teca, the weight should remain uniform.

the glass had been wiped as usual. The temperature, on days when the weighing took place did not vary noticeably, being 25° C. or 77° F.

VARIABILITY OF DENSITY.

Here we might be content with the list of marvels connected with this wonderful blood but this table taken in conjunction with another series of observations reveals yet another defiance of the laws of nature. On the 19th of Sept. the phial was almost quite full so that the state of liquefaction could scarcely be noticed. On the 26th it was about half full. This subsidence is fairly regular in its occurrence but turn now to the last table given and look again at the weights accredited to each day. The weight diminishes indeed the first three days but afterwards it begins and continues to increase! Consequently the weight in regard to the volume is also at variance to the natural order of things. This substance changes its volume, its weight and its density, if the phrase be permitted, with regular irregularity!

VARIABILITY OF COLOR, ETC.

In view of the strange changes of color, apart from those of ordinary coagulation, which have been observed from time to time, the following notes may be of interest but as to their application

to the subject in hand that is left to the judgment of the reader, as for our part the color seems about as free from obedience to the ordinary rule as any other phenomenon connected with the mysterious ampulla. The variations in color have not been so striking it would appear in these last decades.

Brightness in the color of blood depends to a certain extent upon the form of the corpuscles; it is bright when they are flattened and hollow containing oxygen and dark when they are distended and round containing carbonic acid, the reflection of the light depending on the form of the corpuscles.[14] If this be so the bright color noticed at times after liquefaction may reveal presence of oxygen and whence could it come? and when the blood suddenly hardens why dark just as suddenly? It is to be remembered that it is not implied here that there is any strict uniformity in the color changes.

Hemoglobin subjected to the action of heat, acids or caustic alkalies changes its color to a smutty hue by decomposing into an albuminous substance and a colored one called hematin of an orange-red or brownish hue. When blood has been exposed drop by drop to a temperature of

[14] Chapman, op. cit., p. 180. F. Silva observed the color in 1904 by comparison with fresh blood and found it just as bright.

8° F. and then suddenly raised to 68° F. the corpuscles lose their red color and the serum becomes tinged. Such hues have apparently been observed in the phial but if so they must have arisen by very different means than those mentioned here.

No account is taken here of color changes due to mere chemicals as it would be absurd to try to follow them under the present unknown conditions, and moreover we go on the supposition that there is nothing in the phial but blood and grains of sand, and on this supposition we allow nothing for the chemical effect of the sand, etc., because the appearance of the substance remains so persistently the same that the matter can be regarded as unchanged, though to regard it as such is equivalent to admitting its marvellousness.

Sometimes a vapor has been observed but very rarely. Its appearance recalls in a vague way the gases which can be extracted but with great difficulty from blood. As to the bubbling or foaming observed pretty often there is nothing in ordinary blood resembling it except that blood when shaken vigorously in a bottle forms many bubbles which remain longer in existence than in many other liquids: they will remain for hours in corrupted blood. The teca is never shaken. The fountain-like movement of the blood remains a marvel among marvels.

Even in such a simple thing as its relation to the sides of the glass which holds it the blood manifests a variety as we have seen that sometimes it adheres to them sometimes it does not.

In the octave beginning May 6th, 1743, there was still another little peculiarity observed. Nearly every evening when the blood was reposed in the niche, there was noticed a bubble and in the morning when taken out hard the bubble would still be there. When the liquefaction occurred the bubble would be seen to turn around and then disappear.

THE PHIAL AND ANALYSIS.

Why not open the phial and analyze its contents? The question is not for the writer to answer but he can see many reasons why those in charge of a relic regarded with so much love and veneration would refuse. It would certainly seem to them like a sacrilege to profane thus the saint's blood, and believing this blood to have been and to be a palladium, a safeguard, and its phenomena an oracle from heaven like the ancient Urim and Thummim of the Jewish High Priests, it would seem like questioning the reality of Divine Providence.

If it were in the writer's power to open it, sometimes he thinks he would and sometimes he

would not. Would the hesitation be due to fear of the results of such an analysis? Not at all. What would be the difference what it turned out to be? The Church's existence is not bound up with it. Anything not of faith or of morals, nor essentialy connected with them, no matter how time and usage may have hallowed it, the Church can let go overboard without imperilling her safety. The House of Loretto which occupies a much greater space in the affection of Catholics and is more intimately bound up with tradition and devotions will fall to the ground if proved to have been built upon an insecure foundation. The Church is afraid of only one thing — ignorance. No, the hesitation would spring from fear of disrespect to holy things and of committing a rash act.

If he could persuade himself that it was a good thing to do, what then? Still some hesitation on other grounds.

First as regards the moral results. What effect would the analysis have? If favorable, the unbelievers would still shrug their shoulders and go on unbelieving: if unfavorable, they would use it to adorn a tale and point a moral and Catholics who believe in it and who have read up about it, would regard the chaplains and the lay deputies, not as deceivers, but simply as deceived and at the worst we would have one more dreary

subject of tiresome, useless controversy like Galileo, St. Bartholomew's Massacre, etc.

As regards the physical and scientific results, it would be a dangerous experiment. The quantity is very small and but a low percentage of it could be extracted for analysis and most probably the analysis would be very incomplete and unsatisfactory and a source of new disputes. Consider a moment the poor results and contradictory judgments from experiments made upon the residuum in the ampullæ taken from graves and catacombs, that the very possibility of deciding the nature of these remains has been denied.[15]

It requires no particular scientific knowledge to know that no chemist could be thoroughly prepared to examine suitably such a minute quantity of matter, that is, on the supposition there is something in fair quantity along with the blood in it. The substance in the ampulla either has changed or it has not. If it be a merely natural compound subject to ordinary law, it has changed as we can judge from the changes in its colors, that is, the color-changes observed other than the almost regular change noticed in its passing from the solid to the liquid state — the black, the yellow, the ashy and other shades. This substance under this last supposition has been at the very

[15] Kraus — *Uber den Stand,* etc., p. 25 et seq.

lowest calculation two hundred and fifty years in the closed phial, and who could forecast or divine what modifications subtle and minute it may have undergone during that long period. Who has watched experiments for centuries and who would know what agents to employ and how many attempts would the small quantity permit? Wonderfully delicate and marvellously acute though our modern analyses may be, here comparatively new ground would be opened up, and the analyses would necessarily be little more than experiments needing themselves further analyses and experiments.

Assuming it to be a substance radically unchanged, which we can lawfully do as apart from the extraordinary color-changes noticed, the substance as a rule presents the same general characteristics, what then? Some blood there is in it we know from one of the most satisfactory and decisive tests, the spectroscope: some grains of sand, a bit of straw — what else? Drugs, aromatics, a compound? Do not compounds obey physical laws? Is there any substance even an imaginary one which when sealed up would increase and decrease in volume and weight and change its point of fusion according to natural laws? Scientific tests reveal these phenomena, would science be able to analyse a substance

which acts at variance with science's own simplest and fundamental laws?

If under analysis it refused to submit to rule as it does now what conclusions would men of science draw? Just the same as they would utter now if the case and all its phases was laid before them: unbelievers would shake their heads: believers would bow theirs. If under analysis it obeyed, the question would still be, no matter what results the experiment yielded, whence the strange phenomena observed to-day and yesterday?

A hundred years from now if the miracle continued the analysis would be as if it had never been, nay since things are moving rapidly, the second generation may be mocking our scientific simplicity; yet the blood will even then and forever, if our tests are worth anything, be still a mystery: if our tests are unsatisfactory why seek to apply more? Those used are in this case more direct and certain than analytical ones. If Sir Humphrey Davy had had his way and analysed it, the miracle still continuing, would his analysis be accepted?

Still you urge, analyse it. Well, it is done and found to be blood! What has been gained? The satisfaction of saying we told you so, or the advantage that our adversaries cannot taunt

the Neapolitan authorities with being afraid of analysis. Truly a great gain! There are other bloods that liquefy: so examine and analyse them.

It is done and found to be some kind of mixture with just a tinge of blood sufficient to meet the spectroscopic test! What is gained? Is it less a miracle? Would not a compound exhibiting such phenomena be a miracle? (Strange and marvellous substance indeed where blood would retain its identity amidst such changes and companions.)

Supposing God ceased to work the miracle after analysis? What conclusion could be drawn then? That all the phenomena described and proven arose just from some peculiarity in the assembling the blood or substance in the phial and closing it completely; now when opened, the series of marvels has ceased. What a lame and not luminous conclusion! What a stupendous thing of chance we would be asked by some to believe!

To sum up, science before analysis shows it to be an ex-lex; so science after analysis, should find it the same, for if it did not, then science would prove itself untrustworthy or unfit in its present stage to decide the question since it would contradict itself.

If any reader be unwilling to admit this conclu-

sion, his unwillingness must arise from want of belief in the phenomena observed and proven and with him we have no quarrel. The teca is there, the scientists who examined it are living and approachable, he himself can very probably get permission to repeat the experiments; but do not play the sceptic from bigotry or irreligion or stupidity.[16]

[16] "Si nos visores et quidem diligentissimos aut cæcutire arbitrantur aut mendaces, veniant ipsi et videant," wrote John Rho, S. J., over a century and a half ago — *Acta SS.* Sept. 19, p. 834.

CHAPTER XVI

"Believe the works (that I do)."— St. John, 10, 38.

IS THE LIQUEFACTION A MIRACLE? — POSSIBILITY OF MIRACLES — HUME AND MIRACLES — CESSATION OF MIRACLES — THE UTILITY OF THE LIQUEFACTION — HUME'S TEST OF A MIRACLE — MIRACLES AND SOME MODERN NOTIONS

IS THE LIQUEFACTION A MIRACLE?

Is it a miracle? The writer harbors no hope that *a priori* disbelievers will accept the liquefaction as miraculous, but they can admit at least its possibility since Professor Huxley warned them "that no one is entitled to say *a priori* that any so-called miraculous event is impossible." [1] It is not intended to discuss here at any length the nature of miracles and their possibility but a word or two on some popular misconceptions concerning them may not be out of place.

By a miracle is meant a direct intervention of God producing a sensible or physical effect which

[1] *Science and Christian Tradition,* New York, 1896, p. 133.

exceeds all natural forces.[2] A miracle then is not necessarily a violation of the laws of nature; neither is it a suspension of them nor yet need it be styled "contrary to nature." "Human volition modifies natural phenomena by using their laws and this power of volition over phenomena is itself a law. Why may not Divine volition do the same?"[3] Aquinas uses the illustration of a boy casting a stone into the air. By his will he overcomes temporarily the law of gravity which continues however in full play. No complete analogy of course between the intervention of our will and that of the Divine Will is claimed.

The laws of nature are uniform and constant and always tend to produce their effects and it is precisely on this account that miracles can be recognized and that the liquefaction may well be one.

The question of the possibility of miracles is really a question of the existence of a personal and almighty God. If such there be then miracles are possible. Spinoza's objection to their possibility

[2] "A miracle may mean always a direct interposition of Divine Providence whereby at some one time and place a perfectly unique occurrence is brought about, which is out of relation with the established order of things, is not due to what has gone before and is not likely to occur again."— Sir Oliver Lodge, *Science and Immortality*, New York, 1908, p. 55.

[3] John Stuart Mill — *Three Essays on Religion*, N. Y., ed., 1874, p. 226. This quotation holds good according to Mill whether we maintain Free Will or not.

need not detain us here as his god is not our God. All *a priori* objections beg the question. When Spinoza, be he a material or merely formal pantheist,[4] feigns a god after his own fancy and figures him forming a universe with unchangeable laws which bind even this god itself though willingly, he fashions a thought not without depth indeed but it reminds one of a great favorite with rationalists, the Hindoo cosmology which mounts the earth upon an elephant and the elephant upon a tortoise and the tortoise upon nothing, which is indeed a picturesque image for the mind's eye; but both are equally baseless in their foundations. The Lord of nature made laws of nature. Admitted. He made them so perfect that He need never interfere. Just here come three assumptions: first, that He did wish to make them so; second, that "perfect" laws exclude the idea of interference; third, that interference would show imperfection somewhere. Leaving aside the question of optimism or whether this world is the best possible or not, we say that we do not know *a priori,* how He made the laws, but we do know that He does all things well. If He arranged them that His interference would serve His purpose, can we assert that the arrangement was less perfect? That He could have created the world so that His end in

[4] Trench — *Notes on the Miracles of Our Lord,* Chap. V.

creating it would have been attained without miracles we believe, because He is Infinite Wisdom. Whether He did so or not, we must judge, not from our notions of what would be best but from the evidence furnished us by our senses and digested by reason.

If you admit that God created the universe you must admit that He conserves it. The idea that it is independent and can go of its own accord like clock-work is not founded either in reason or revelation. The Author of nature is also its Governor and He is not an absentee but is continually "upholding all things by the word of His power," [5] and the laws of nature simply represent His ordinary way of acting in the visible world around about us.

Neither will it avail to say that if miracles are above nature the very principles of reason itself would be violable. The laws of reason are immutable seeing they are enunciations of eternal truths. The other laws are not unchangeable in the sense that higher law cannot overcome the effect of a lower. These laws regard a created nature and as this created nature is only contingent and not of necessity, so the principles or laws upon which its action is based are not absolutely necessary either for its existence or for

[5] Hebrews, I, 3.

its phenomena. God is a cause that can produce many effects and

> "Nature is but a name for an effect
> Whose cause is God."[6]

And since this is practically denied by pantheists, atheists, monists, etc., who identify cause and effect, we deal not with them except they condescend to look at the facts of the case.

The intervention by the Deity is always accompanied by circumstances which reveal its exceptional character. A miracle is not disguised, it is so clothed as to show plainly it is a stranger in the land of physical science. It comes in response to prayer, it is expected, it is testimony to a divine messenger or message and if it ever comes, very rarely indeed, unheralded, it never departs unrecognized. To do so would be to defeat its own object and to belie its name. These considerations serve not to soothe the nerves of those who affect to dread that if its possibility were granted, a miracle might force its unbidden way like a bold, poor relation into the very halls of science or it might spring up like a jack-in-the-box out of a crucible. No, they are aroused and fretful at the very thought of a miracle and protesting overmuch their own honesty and love of truth, they stand shoulder to shoulder against

[6] Cowper's *Task,* Book VI.

the wiles and sophistries and ignorance of ecclesiastics and are ready to die to defend the honor and strict adherence to Law of the Great Unknown Legislator. They affect to forget that there is a higher system and a nobler order of things than the merely physical one, the moral and spiritual world, for whose sake alone the lower was made and that in obedience to this master the servant may well yield his rights. They fear that if they did not protest, God might throw a miracle across the path of the student of science to lead him on a false scent!

It is impossible to refrain from smiling when we see the circle of semi-scientists headed by Renan, Huxley, and the poor fanatic Haeckel weeping over the downfall of science at the mere thought of admitting miracles.[7] How could they trust themselves on the bosom of the Seine, or Thames, or Spree if the Jordan's flow had once been divinely interrupted? Why are not Kelvin, Pasteur, Roentgen, Marconi and others weeping and trembling? They believe that God knows how and when to work miracles; that if He was able to create the world He can manage once in a while to intervene without destroying his handiwork or interfering with the progress of knowl-

[7] Tyndall and all the lesser fry join in the lamentations and fling common sense and observation to the winds — *Fragments of Science,* Vol. II, p. 6, N. Y. ed., 1896

edge since He left the earth to the discussions of the sons of men and permits them to amuse themselves in finding the proportions in which He arranged all things in measure, weight and number.[8] These men are studying nature, advancing science and are not posing as Pecksniffs of the physical world, and, Candid Reader, if the world had to dispense with the labors and discoveries of one of these two sets of men just mentioned, which do you think could be the more easily spared?

"Sensible people willingly admit in theory that miracles are possible; but in the business of life they count upon none," says Kant, justly enough as long as the business of life means not the object of life, life eternal. Even then, they are not to be counted upon but taken into account when reasoning upon religion. And Rousseau maintained that to ask can God work miracles was both senseless and godless. Lacordaire in reply to the impossibility of miracles on the ground of causing disorder in nature expressed himself with beauty and force in the following passage:

"That is to say, gentlemen, that it is impossible for God to manifest himself by the single act which publicly and instantaneously announces his presence, by the act of sovereignty. Whilst the lowest in the

[8] "Thou has ordered all things in measure, number and weight."—*Wisdom*, 2, 21, "He hath delivered the world to their consideration . . ."—*Ecclesiastes*, 3, 11.

scale of being has the right to appear in the bosom of nature by the exercise of its proper force; whilst the grain of sand, called into the crucible of the chemist, answers to his interrogations by characteristic signs which range it in the registers of science, to God alone it should be denied to manifest his force in the personal measure that distinguishes him and makes him a separate being! Not only should God not have manifested himself, but it must be forever impossible for him to manifest himself in virtue even of the order of which he is the creator. To act, is to live; to appear, is to live; to communicate, is to live; but God can no longer act, appear, communicate himself; that is denied him. Banished to the profound depths of his silent and obscure eternity, if we interrogate him, if we supplicate him, if we cry to him, he can only say to us — supposing however that he is able to answer us: 'What would you have? I have made laws! Ask of the sun and the stars, ask of the sea and the sand upon its shores; as for me, my condition is fixed, I am nothing but repose, and the contemplative servant of the work of my hands!" [9]

To put these thoughts in other words: Outside of mathematical laws which we cannot conceive other than they are, all the laws of nature are simply the expression of God's will. We cannot conceive them *a priori;* we learn them only by observation and having learned them we can conceive them otherwise. They depend on His pleasure for their existence and their working, consequently they are subject to His will and

[9] *Jesus Christ,* Baltimore, ed., p. 68.

thus in the words of Christ, "with God all things are possible" (Matt. 19, 26), and nothing says the Holy Spirit, can resist "the strong hand and the outstretched arm of Jehovah." (Deut.7, 19.) A miracle argues no change in God because God foresaw and foreordained His act from all eternity. The prayer you breathed to-day God heard in His eternity.

Taking the world as we find it, a miracle is an excellent way to attract man's attention, to recall to him the existence of his Creator so often forgotten amid the grind of daily toil and above all to confirm His envoys. Our Savior himself appealed quite formally to them and the word used σημεια means chiefly, signs, but even then as at other times they can be worked in vain and He pronounced woe to the inhabitants of Corozain, Bethsaida and Carphanaum who resisted His miracles: the centurion however having seen signs exclaimed: "This is truly the Son of God."

What shall we say to those who imagine on other grounds than pantheistic dreams, that He should have disposed all things so at the creation that miracles would not have been necessary? We can only act like Talleyrand who when he received a long letter requiring really no answer, sighed on paper, "Alas! Madame," but we might also ask in return; "Where wast thou when I

laid the foundations of the earth and who has put wisdom into the heart of man?" (Job 38, 4, 36.)

The attitude of some towards miracles can be represented by a quotation from Luther who thought, we are told, the growth of a field of wheat a greater miracle than the feeding five thousand with a few loaves.[10] A thought beautiful enough in its way but a definition of terms would put the growth of wheat outside the premises. Farmers moreover are not remarkable as realizers of God's presence or as admirers of His works. Man saw Luther's miracle for ages and for ages men worshipped stocks and stones and the last to yield to a religion vouched divine by genuine miracles were the *pagani* or inhabitants of country districts and villages. "Miracles," says St. Augustine, speaking of the same biblical multiplication of loaves, "are divine works performed to raise the human mind to the knowledge of God by sensible works. There are few who deign to observe the truly admirable and astonishing works of Providence in the smallest grain of wheat; hence God, in His infinite mercy, has reserved certain things outside the ordinary course and order of nature to be produced at opportune times in order that the marvellousness of a spectacle not greater but unusual, shall awa-

[10] *Schaff-Herzog Encyc.* under Miracle.

ken the astonishment of men upon whom daily miracles make no impression. And in fact it is a greater miracle to govern the entire world than to feed five thousand men with five loaves of bread: the first however excites no astonishment, while we are filled with admiration of the second, not because it is greater but because it is more rare." St. Augustine's words are wiser and more to the point than Luther's.[11]

Some rationalists, omniscient as the whole tribe is but just how or whence they draw their dubious information we do not know except it may be "from behind the veil," have from their lofty miniature tribunes condescendingly and withal kindly told us "that the ordinary effects of nature wrought more admiration in the heathens than did in the children of Israel all the miracles of Jahve." The poets of Israel are not a whit behind the poets of the Gentile in appreciation of the world's beauty and the natural phenomena which nature scatters with such profuse hand before our eyes daily and yearly, still you may be right, masters, but what a pretty system of morals, what an elegant state of society, civil and fashionable, and what a beautiful family of decent gods and goddesses this admiration begot among these nature-admiring heathens! We also have peeped into classical literature and read St. Paul,

[11] *Enarratio in Psalm,* 39, sect. 16.

and we prefer the Ten Commandments plus the miracles and the resulting civilization. The latter possesses at least the power of regeneration: the former was rotten beyond redemption.

Hume's notorious argument is not against the possibility of a miracle but against its credibility: yet to deny its credibility is to remove practically its possibility, since Wisdom would not act without cause. Hume maintained: "A miracle is a violation of the laws of nature and as a firm and unalterable experience has established these laws, the proof against miracles from the very nature of the fact is as entire as any argument from ordinary experience can possibly be imagined."

Passing over his calling a miracle a *violation* of the laws of nature, it is hard to see what right Hume had, if he adhered strictly to his own principles of knowledge and causality, to appeal to common experience;[12] but he like all his school are remarkably free, free as Emerson was, from all prejudice against inconsistency! Granting him that right, however, we may remark that a firm and unalterable experience is the same as to say that no exception has ever occurred to the laws of nature: that is to say, he begs the question in dispute, cooly assumes it. Unalterable experience is to be the test according to his dictum: what then of unalterable experience up to

[12] *David Hume* by James Orr, ed., 1903, p. 210.

the time of steam, electricity, wireless telegraphy, X-rays, etc? But these, it would be objected, are explicable and repeatable. We know it, but suppose the first phenomena were neither the one nor the other, would they then cease to have been facts? Experience reveals the law and experience proves the exceptions: both have the same kind of testimony. The experience for the law is greater in bulk than the experience for the exception but not necessarily in quality; the experience against the exception moreover is merely negative whereas the experience for is positive; or because a thing never happened before, it is no proof that it may not happen. In truth this sophism of "the excessive egotist" has received since its appearance more attention than it merited and the Hibernian who was not worried when informed that three men would testify that they heard the words he uttered, because he could get hundreds to swear they never heard them was a faithful disciple of the sceptical Scot.[13]

[13] If Hume were right God could not, even if He had the power and will, work a miracle so that it might be recognized as such, since more witnesses would be required for it than for the supposedly unbroken order of nature and this majority would have to be in every age and clime to fulfil properly his conditions. When that point would have been reached where then would be the miracle's power of exciting wonder; or which fact would be the natural and which the supernatural? In other words which show the sophism still plainer he puts down a condition for credibility which destroys the very idea

As to the knowledge sufficient to bear witness to a deviation from the ordinary laws of nature at least in some cases no more is required than the spectators possessed, who were represented in an old engraving, holding their noses around the tomb of Lazarus. They did not know all the laws of nature, neither were they physicians, but they knew the buried man was dead. The same eyes that saw the Jordan flowing swiftly between its banks could see pretty well the river bed when exposed. If knowledge of all causes were required we could never affirm any phenomena to be the result of any known law, since it might result from some unknown cause. It has been remarked and the remark can be aptly applied here, that a man can know when a law is violated without knowing the entire code.

A miracle if it exists is a fact and as a fact to

of a miracle as something beyond the ordinary course of nature and needing the special intervention of God.

"Nature does not go out of her course. The law and order of the universe are preserved. Miracles have their place in the Divine plan or decree and are no more anomalies *ex parte Dei* than earthquakes and volcanoes, in relation to that plan or decree." Brownson's *Works*, Detroit, 1883, Vol. 2, p. 445. This assertion on account of the illustration used may suggest but it is not to be confounded with the theory of Bonnet or Houtteville, which amounted to saying that God so arranged things at the beginning that miracles would happen at an opportune moment in the ordinary course of nature, just as if we set an alarm clock to ring at the hour when we knew beforehand it would prove effective. Cf. Perrone — *Prælectiones Theologicæ*, Vol. I, art. I, note.

us, it rests upon human testimony. "Being of an extraordinary nature it can," as Newman observes, "challenge a fuller and more accurate investigation yet it does not admit an investigation conducted on different principles" than those ordinarily used.[14] "Our senses are all we have to trust to, and when others confirm their testimony there is no other appeal against their decision than an appeal from the senses without precautions to the senses with all due precautions." [15] What avails it then to shut our eyes to testimony and say there can be no miracles, therefore there are none. "I tell you, my friend," said the lawyer to his client in jail, "there is no power on earth that can imprison you." We must accept facts. The divine will is impressed on the order of nature and when it wills, it intervenes in that order and this intervention arouses our admiration and attracts attention. A miracle is a knock at the door of our mind.

Some time ago we were told very seriously that the world of the supernatural was fast fading away before the rise of our knowledge of the laws of nature and that the last remnant of super-

[14] *Essay on Miracles,* 10th ed., p. 13. "They are aware that for the acceptance of miracles they must require a far greater amount of evidence than when it is question of purely natural facts." Ch. de Smedt, Criticism in *Cath. Encyc.*

[15] Mill — op. cit., p. 218.

naturalism was shrinking into a shady borderland of ghosts and mesmerism and this region was daily contracting by the combined influence of policemen and fresh discoveries of physiological laws.[16] Thus ran the sentences in the gloomy days when blighting materialism seemed about to triumph all along the line, but a change came. Materialism is discredited, thank God. The shadowy borderland has grown quite respectable and many notable scientists frequent its paths and the increase of discoveries has taught men who dabble in science, humility.[17] Your genuine scientists are always humble, witness Davy, Faraday, Pasteur and Kelvin, to name a few, and rays hitherto unknown have opened up to our astonished eyes just at the moment when the horizon seemed close at hand, a wider and ever widening untrodden country for explorations and hypotheses; and physical science that seemed securely enthroned on basic principles now wanders restlessly, scarcely knowing where she can pause a moment without being told by her own lovers to "move on."

A certain class of the Jews were irritated by the miracles of Christ and to-day some Christians

[16] S. Laing — *Modern Science and Modern Thought*, Chap. VIII.

[17] Professors Henry Sidgwick, J. P. Langley, Richet, James, Sir William Crookes, Sir Oliver Lodge, Balfour Stewart, etc.

are angered by the miracles claimed by the Catholic Church. Voltaire it was who wrote: "The miracles of the Old and of the New Testament once admitted can be repeated in all ages." This remark of the sage of Verney we commend to our separated brethren who admit the miraculous events of the Jewish and Early Christian History and deny later ones. But finish the quotation they may exclaim, "and if they are not worked to-day it is, as has been said so many times, because we have no longer need of them."[18] There, that is our position.

A strange spokesman you have, friends, but we will not argue the point with you as our subject is not controversy. That miracles are not so frequent in Christian countries as in the dawn of our era we concede, when, as the Fathers of the Church remark, Christ having planted the seed, he watered the tender shoot plentifully, until when stronger grown it needed no such care; but further we cannot go with you else we part company with Christ, who never said miracles would cease but who did say: "Amen, amen, I say to you, he that believeth in me, the works that I do, he also shall do: and greater than these

[18] Voltaire, Vol. 42, p. 165, under Miracles. The fanatic and infamous Middleton thought it essential to deny all post-Apostolic miracles in order to save Protestantism and to deny them he blackened the names of all the Doctors and Fathers of the Church. Cf. Hays' *Doctrine of Miracles Explained,* Chap. XII, p. 16, N. Y. ed.

shall he do." (St. John 14, 12.) We would fain also keep company with the glorious Doctors of the Church who give such eloquent testimony to the relative frequency of signs and wonders which followed in their days those who believed. We would feel ourselves guilty of presumption if we, relying mainly upon our own ideas of what was fitting to Divine Providence, declared arbitrarily and without proof, that miracles ceased with the Apostolic Age and if we thus closed our eyes to the experience of all Christendom for centuries and centuries. "As the scale of the balance must give way to the imposed weights so the mind must yield to demonstrations," Cicero tells us, and demonstration there is in abundance, even greater in itself than for biblical wonders, to prove the continuance of miracles down to our times. Else all history is false and we are sceptics. We prefer to believe that the words of Christ must have some fulfilment in all ages, even in lands where His name is worshipped, to say nothing of that great part of the world where the Gentiles still lord it over His followers in immense numbers. The bitterness with which some Christians attack modern miracles suggests the melancholy truth that, since Æsop's time, some grapes are proverbially sour.

God selected miracles as His primary and most convincing and most easily discerned proofs to

the reality and veracity of His revelation. They render authority sensible alike to the learned and to the simple, and authority begets faith. So all peoples have always believed and do still believe: the trifling minority who try to protest do so at the sacrifice of common sense, for as John Stuart Mill wrote: "When the evidence on which an opinion rests is equal to that upon which the whole conduct and safety of our lives is founded, we need ask no further. Objections which apply equally to all evidence are valid against none."

Many extraordinary facts related of unbelievers in profane and biblical history and many modern ones in spiritism and kindred isms teach us simply the need of caution, examination and study before accepting marvellous facts as true miracles or rejecting true miracles as mere variations of such strange phenomena. This class of puzzling happenings does not exceed the power of all created nature and are therefore not real miracles. No matter how these were or are produced we can always judge from their nature, their surroundings, their workers and especially from their object as to their real origin, and we know for certain that the wisdom and sanctity of God Our Father cannot permit any such marvels to lead us invincibly into error and thus imperil our eternal salvation. The magicians of Pharoah, no mean wonder-workers in their line, knew

when and where they were beaten and exclaimed: "The finger of God is here" (Exodus 8.19) and the assertion of the Pharisees that Jesus cast out devils by means of Beelzebub was for those days of ready belief in spirits not so much an accusation as a great absurdity for as He, perhaps ironically, reminded them a house divided against itself cannot stand. (St. Mark 3.25.)

The idea that Satan would work marvels to promote Catholicity could only have come into minds blinded by prejudice and with such we have nothing to do since, as Newman remarked, with such it is useless to argue.

Protestantism tried to limit miracles to the time of Christ or the Apostolic age or to the age of Constantine. If the day has not yet come it will soon when this time-limit will cause a universal smile as everyone knows in his heart that it arose simply from antagonism to the Church and from defense of the Reformation which failing to work any disclaimed them. There may have been in some minds an unconscious relief, since some miracles had to be accepted, in putting signs and wonders so far back that they could not be examined too closely by too keen critics, a relief which if it existed was based upon a latent doubt of a miracle's power of endurance.

Protestantism denied all ecclesiastical miracles. The daughter went further than the mother.

Rationalism denies all miracles. This denial does not arise scientifically but on *a priori* grounds since it accepts only one order, the natural. It is useless to argue with rationalists for they play fast and loose with evidence, being credulous where their own views are concerned and sceptical when adverse facts are discovered. If they were logical straight through they would be merely sceptics.[19] Rationalism outside the Church tried to destroy the supernatural: now

[19] A rationalist named Dr. Rückert wandered into the realm where the growth of words can be observed and discovered to his annoyance that "rationalist is a word of contempt and does not mean one who is really reasonable but would like to pass for such." Hurst—*History of Rationalism*, 3 ed., Intro., p. 7. Here philology and truth have kissed each other! For proof see any rationalist writer, as for example, Lecky, whom some regard as profound, can write solemn nonsense about the decline of belief in miracles being on a par with the decline of belief in fairies; or S. Laing who sees greater difficulty in the miracle at Cana since the constituents of wine have been discovered; or Huxley worrying over the sudden destruction of the Gaderene pigs. These are true rationalists employed on becoming subjects: one dreaming about fairies, another looking wise over the carbon in his wine and a third lamenting his dear departed swine cut off in their prime. But the rationalist is never so ludicrous because never so irrational as when he strikes a religious attitude. It is always thus: whenever he thinks he has dealt an extra strong blow to Christianity, which amounts to the same thing as having said something unusually stupid, he places his hand upon his pensive heart, raises his sad eyes skywards and delivers in a canting tone some would-be touching remark about pure religion, about the Heavenly Father and the Blessed Founder of misunderstood Christianity or about the Great Unknown, the Absolute and the Great Beyond, or most absurd of absurdities, the Religion of Humanity!

within its very bosom it has sprung up under a new name but with all the well-known disagreeable characteristics: an assumption of intellectual superiority, a claim to higher morality and greater devotion to truth, a contemning without understanding of the past, an overweening self-confidence and self-importance, a proneness to prophesy, an ill-founded dogmatism and above all complete blindness to the inconsistency of its claims and the absurdity of its position.

Rationalism among some Protestants is now called Liberal Protestantism but it is only a change in name and it is really the old rationalism modified by agnosticism and Kantism and seeking to build permanently upon the shifting sands of vital immanentism.[20] As it appears among some who wish to be called Catholic it is styled Modernism.[21]

As for the Modernist position towards miracles it scarcely needs a comment. Half a century ago we were told that "....if miracles were, in the estimation of a former age, among the chief *supports* of Christianity, they are at

[20] "In reality whenever we are able to scrutinise closely a supposed miracle of ancient or recent times we either perceive that it is legendary or else if the fact is true, we discover that it may be reduced to the play of natural laws." Reville — *Liberal Christianity*, N. Y., 1903, p. 180.

[21] See Georges Michelet — *Dieu et l'Agnosticisme Contemporain*, Paris, 1909. Chap. III. shows clearly the real position of Modernism.

present among the main *difficulties* and hindrances to its acceptance,"[22] and we were thus quietly asked to reverse the judgment of Jesus Christ. In 1908 we had to listen to the same declaration: "For us it matters little to attain to God through the demonstration of mediæval metaphysics or through arguments from miracles and prophecies, which offend rather than impress the modern mind and evade the control of experience."[23] "Evade the control of experience" as far as it relates to miracles reminds one unpleasantly of Renan's absurd contention that miracles should be wrought before a select body of scientists and repeated at desire. Letting that pass, prophecies and miracles upon which Christ and His Apostles relied and called, have become like some parts of His doctrine itself, offensive to modern minds which seek to be a law unto themselves unchecked by any external, fixed standard.

What does all this opposition to miracles mean?[24] The answer is simple enough — a Christianity without miracles, i. e., a Christianity

[22] *Essays and Reviews,* London, ed., 1860, p. 140.
[23] *The Programme of Modernism,* N. Y., 1908, p. 98.
[24] "Jésus-Christ a vérifié qu'il était le Messie, jamais en vérifiant sa doctrine sur l'Écriture et les prophéties, et toujours par les miracles . . . toute la créance est sur les miracles." Pascal — *Pensées, Fragments et Lettres,* ed., 1844, Vol. 2, p. 226.

without the divinity of Christ, without the supernatural, fashioned after each one's own conceits and without any voice of authority. Miracles are the external criterions of revelation. Reject them and all is internal, subjective and immanent and Everyman's ideas are good and divine. Miracles prove Christianity an intervention of the Unseen Good into the visible and they certify beyond a doubt according to man's twofold nature, the physical and the psychical, that this intervention is not a mere dream, a mere subjective delusion, nor the act of an evil agent clothed in the livery of heaven.[25]

Neither does the liquefaction call for much discussion here from the theoretic scientific point of view partly as beside the writer's intention and partly because scientists are too much at sea to present any well-founded new theories. Anarchy reigns in the world of science and no

[25] Tertullian said to heretics:
"The Apostles raised the dead: you turn the living into dead."
St. Augustine said to Faustus:
"You work no miracles."
Erasmus said to the Lutherans:
"You cannot cure even a lame horse."
Calvin said to the King of France:
"You do wrong to ask a miracle," i.e. we cannot work any.
Christ said to the world:
"My disciples shall do greater works than I."
The rationalistic and modernistic world says:
"We do not believe in miracles: they offend us."

theory is *de facto* ruler. Berthelot has scarcely finished declaring that Lavoisier had established the fundamental distinction between ponderable bodies and imponderable agents and that it was a very great discovery and one of the very bases of science when Lebon rises to state that as a result of his matter-dissociating experiments this famous duality of ponderable and imponderable must disappear.[26] Poor Robert Mayer's law of the conservation of energy is not beyond impeachment and if we are credulous enough the conservation of matter is tottering since both "the destruction and creation of matter are well within the range of scientific conception and may be within the realm of experimental possibility" according to Sir Oliver Lodge (who of course pre-supposes the existence of the original ether.)[27] And, as hinted above, Gustave Lebon has seen matter transform itself into energy so that they are one. Then there are the anomalous and ill-understood actions and influences of the so-called collodial metals and of the diastases, enzymes and of a few more rebel

[26] *L'Évolution de la Matière,* Paris, 1903, p. 76 and p. 297.
[27] *Life and Matter,* N. Y., 1907, p. 29: for the next two quotations, see p. 20 and p. 138. Our suggestion (p. 293) of 'guidance' is made without admitting or denying its agreement with our definition of miracle. For influence without any call upon energy, see Driesch's discussion upon entelechy, p. 177, Vol. II, *Science and Philosophy of the Organism,* London, 1908.

substances, while it has long been an open secret that some chemical compounds regarded as steady and respectable enter into new relations not at all sanctioned by atomic or any similar law. But what can be expected when the atoms themselves are engaged in a deadly combat with invaders yclept electrons who seek to destroy the offspring of Lucretius, adopted by Higgins and Dalton.

In face of all this confusion [28] and struggle for existence we remark: (1) that the phenomena of the phials still stand apart and are unique for though some one phase might possibly be reproduced separately their production and conjunction in one substance under the known conditions set at defiance every hypothesis which may be constructed with any regard to the exclusion of contradictories; and (2) to those who hold strictly to the laws of the conservation of energy and matter, the idea of guidance may be suggested in the words of Sir Oliver Lodge: "Philosophers have been far too apt to jump to the conclusion that because energy is constant therefore no guidance is possible so that all psychological and

[28] Even the very light-giving heavens of the scientific world are moved according to some as we can have the angles of a triangle less if we follow Lobatschewski or more if we prefer Riemann, than two right angles. The old Euclidean truth is only a convention. (Poincare.) *Les Conflits de la Science,* by Docteur X. . . . Paris, 1905, p. 30.

other interference is precluded. Physicists know better: though unfortunately Tyndall in some papers on Miracles and Prayer, thoughtlessly adduced the conservation of energy as decisive. . . . . the energy of operations automatically going on in any active region of the universe can be guided along paths that it would not automatically have taken and can be directed so as to produce effects that would not otherwise have occurred; and this without any breakage or suspension of the laws of dynamics and in full correspondence with both the conservation of energy and the conservation of momentum." The earthquake in science-land has not disturbed the foundation of miracles but rather has shown its solidity.

The confusion existing in mental philosophy would also be a sufficient reason to forego stating here the relations between knowledge and miracles. Appeal is simply made to that common sense which all alike use, even the idealistic and phenomonistic philosophers, in all the concerns of actual life, and by common sense is meant, as may be readily seen, not the *sensus communis* of Aristotle but that bundle of beliefs mostly spontaneous which guide the average man in his day's doings and decisions. We pass over likewise the disputes about the proving-power of miracles and about the necessity of prior faith as not rele-

vant to our object.[29] It suffices to declare here what Our Lord evidently believed and the whole Christian world after Him for two thousand years, that in the words of the Vatican Council miracles are sure and certain signs of divine revelation and adapted to the understanding of all and that they clearly prove the omnipotence and omniscience of God, and secondly, that God is indeed the first mover and the pious willingness to believe is His gift as the Church has decided in her conflict with Semipelagianism.[30]

As it is not our object to prove the liquefaction to be a miracle we do not feel called upon to discuss at length its utility, probability or consistency with God's wisdom. Suffice to say, as regards utility, it has converted some and the salvation of one soul is after all more useful than to gain the whole world's riches or vain admiration.[31] It has certainly brightened the faith,

[29] See *La Crédibilité et l'Apologétique,* by A. Gardeil, O. P., Paris, 1908, p. 74, and Appendix where the proving-power of miracles is demonstrated and p. 259, where it is shown that the Immanentists revolve in a vicious circle around prior faith.

[30] Denziger's *Enchiridion,* 10th ed., 1790 (1639): Wilhelm and Scannell's *Manual of Catholic Theology,* N. Y., 1899, pp. 192 and 236, Vol. II.

[31] John Conrad Danhawer a voluminous (guilty of over 70 publications) and forgotten author of the 17th century denied the miracle on account of its to him apparent inutility and Melchior Cornæus, S. J., at page xxxvii. of his *Miracula Ecc. Rom. Difensa,* 1662, replied that it converts some, is a proof of the true faith, etc., and con-

warmed the charity and consoled the hearts of countless thousands, and has been considered for centuries a vivid witness to the reality of the communion of saints, and it may well be regarded as a voice recalling the resurrection of the dead. The ever smoking crater of Vesuvius reminds us constantly of the hidden forces of primeval fire, so the ever-restless blood speaks of the hidden forces of spiritual life and maybe some day it will cry out, not only like Abel's blood, against its murderers but also against those who, refusing to hear its appeal, now would fain still its motion forever.

As to its consistency with Divine Wisdom we do not worry. God's ways are not our ways nor his thoughts our thoughts. There are so many, many things inexplicable in our eyes that one more or less disturbs not the calm of our confidence in Divine Providence. In itself the miracle of the blood is as likely and even more probable than the miracle recorded in the fourth chapter of the Fourth Book of Kings, where the axe-head floated in response to the prayer of

cludes with the witty remark: "Oh, if you to strengthen your sect had an equal proof, how you would boast, *ut ampullareris* literally, how you would ampulla!" St. Augustine himself could not have chosen a happier word on account of the connection and the meaning of *ampullarari,* which is a comic Latin word, signifying to talk bombastically, an ampulla among the Romans being a large two-handled vessel with an aldermanic girth.

Eliseus. Let those who accept this wonder, wrought partly for the apparently insignificant reason that the axe-head was borrowed and who reject or refuse on religious grounds even to consider the mystery of St. Januarius, let them we say look to their consistency, and let those who regard some parts of the history of Eliseus as mere Jewish Haggadoth explain away the liquefaction if they can.

No one, in view of the variety of purpose of miracles in the Bible, would claim that all miracles had to be evidential of some particular truth: some could be worked in answer to prayer to reward faith, to glorify some friend of God.

That God has been pleased to honor His Saints by miracles is a truth we do not care to argue here. Christ proclaimed it, the Old and New Testaments bear witness to it and the Fathers of the Church have always recognized it and the Church herself, who stands so securely and firmly and tranquilly amidst all the changing systems and stupendous upheavals in the moral and intellectual world, gives her constant testimony throughout all the centuries of her eventful life. If the reader does not choose to believe all this display of divine method, he can at least admit that if God did wish to honor especially the virtue or memory of a martyr, nothing would seem more gracious and more in pleasing conde-

scending touch with our ideas of congruity than that the martyr would be honored by a miracle in which would stand forth prominently the blood which he had shed for his Master's faith.

A miracle seemingly worked to order presents at first sight an anomalous appearance. It is true. It is producing an effect in the physical world with almost the same regularity as a sacrament produces one in the world of grace. It is like an *ex opere operato*. Water is poured on a person's head with right intention and words and a great change takes place in the interior, in the soul. The phial presented to the head undergoes many changes in its state, but if Divine Providence desires it so we have but to accept it as we find it. Moses erected a brazen serpent in the desert and a look was necessary before the bite of the fiery serpents would be healed. The sick had to await the coming of the angel who disturbed the waters of the Pool of Bethsaida.

As to the presence of a condition in general, it may be remarked that granted the miracle some external condition is useful else one would have to wait and watch the blood continually in order to observe the liquefaction: by this means attention is drawn to it. The liquefaction, however, takes place often enough without this condition to show clearly that there is no absolutely necessary connection between the head and the

change: if always in conjunction there would be some temptation to think the fusion of the substance was merely natural though extremely curious; and at the same time the presence of the condition helps to remove the miracle from the list of mere meaningless marvels.

As to the selection of this factor the presence of the head or some relic rather than some other we have nothing to do: the same Divine Providence which made Moses strike the rock with a staff to produce water and which used clay, spittle and a wash in a pool to open shut eyes is responsible for it.

Granting the marvellous fact and the ordinary condition required for its occurrence and at the same time the faith of those who guard these holy relics what else could they do but for reverence and decency's sake appoint special times and ceremonies as the Church herself does in other matters, to prevent daily usage producing its usual sad effects of neglect, indifference or contempt?

Some Catholics, if they do not exactly avoid the subject of the Blood of St. Januarius, are just as well pleased to let it pass unnoticed, yet no matter whether it be considered a miracle or not, it is we repeat a most wonderful study and can give rise to many interesting questions, as for instance; under which head or heads of the

commonly accepted Thomistic division of miracles would the liquefaction and its attendant marvels come? Would the increase of matter be attributed to a creative act or to local motion? etc.

The advance of science it has been categorically announced lessens the number of miracles. Real miracles are not disturbed by it. Many facts deemed marvellous are found of easy explanation when we know "how" by the light of additional knowledge and some so-called miracles may fail under modern tests or historical investigation may prove belief in them to have been based upon insufficient evidence, but, nevertheless, not one miracle vouched for by divine or fully competent ecclesiastical authority has been ousted from its shrine and cast by the wayside. True miracles face triumphantly any test. The supernatural is coming back into its own and metaphysics will regain that proud pre-eminence always accorded to it by men of genius and profound learning.

With the advance of science the liquefaction of the Blood of St. Januarius shines out more brilliantly and steadily as a truly wonderful exception to all known and accepted laws of natural sciences and if in bygone ages men stared at it with awe, we, the ancients of the world who know so many of nature's long-hidden secrets,

must consider it as our knowledge deepens with ever increasing respect and amazement.

THE "GRAVE VERDICT OF HUME" QUESTIONED.[32]

"There is not to be found in all history any miracle

(a) attested by a sufficient number of men of such unquestioned good sense, education, and learning, as to secure us against all delusion in themselves:

(b) of such undoubted integrity, as to place them beyond all suspicion of any design to deceive others:

(c) of such credit and reputation in the eyes of mankind, as to have a great deal to lose in case of their being detected in any falsehood; and at the same time attesting facts, performed

(d) in such a public manner, and

(e) in so celebrated a part of the world, as to render the detection unavoidable; all which circumstances are requisite to give us a full assurance in the testimony of men."[33] Thus wrote the arch-sceptic Hume and Renan took up the theme and copying after Voltaire laid down

[32] "It is true that the position that miracles are 'impossible' cannot be sustained. But I know nothing which calls upon me to qualify the grave verdict of Hume: There is no etc." Huxley — *Science and Christian Tradition*, N. Y. ed., p. 207.

[33] *Essays and Treatises*, ed., 1825, Vol. II., p. 116.

some conditions also for the Power that might presume to work such an objectionable thing as a miracle. As the latter gentleman's pleasantry assumed for granted the infallibility of the French Academy, which we, despite our great respect for that august body as a body, firmly decline to admit, because, alas, we say it with regret, we are unwilling to admit even its impartiality, the terms of Mr. Hume's capitulation will alone be considered. They embrace moreover in substance the less preposterous of the conditions of the French scholar.

(a) The entire clergy of Naples including learned members of the religious orders, the Bollandists, its scientific men world-known for learning, its leading inhabitants, the great many visitors whose knowledge and keenness are beyond question — Davy, Lavoisier, Hurter, Dumas the chemist, Pasteur, Fergola, Vico, testify to this marvel and such a number of such individuals certainly secure us against all delusion in themselves.

(b) They are likewise beyond suspicion of any design to deceive others for whatever some may be pleased to think of some ecclesiastics and others, it is absurd to imagine all this multitude, priests, religious laymen, princes, scientists, Catholics, Protestants, Turks, Natives, Foreign-

ers, friends and foes conspiring together in dishonesty to deceive others. What motive could bind such a heterogeneous cloud of witnesses together?

(c) The detection of a falsehood in this case would assuredly entail a great loss of credit to the ecclesiastics among their own brethren, the faithful and the public generally. The Church herself would suffer from the discovery of such a great fraud conducted under such solemn religious ceremonies and high authority. How would rulers like Leo XIII. and Pius X. escape condemnation for connivance?

(d) This liquefaction does not take place in a private chamber in Berlin, among friends exclusively, but before a crowd from all parts of the world, before curious eyes and eyes hostile and seeking fault. The relics are in view of all and all can approach and examine them.

(e) Neither is it in a remote and lonely part of the earth but in Naples, a city long one of the most brilliant capitals of Europe and to-day no mean city in size, wealth, learning, a great resort for lovers of nature and science. Thus this challenge is answered and even his other statement that "No testimony is sufficient to establish a miracle unless the testimony be of such a kind that its falsehood would be more miraculous

than the fact which it endeavors to establish" may be dismissed in view of the same testimony just given in favor of the liquefaction.

If there is a current against miracles there is also a new one in favor of them. "It is scarcely too much to affirm that a belief in these occurrences (miracles) as vital parts of the Christian revelation is rising compared with which all previous belief is feeble and superficial." [34] Though it is good to know that growth of belief in miracles is increasing in some quarters, it is easy to see that this growth is not quite a healthy one from the Christian or truly scientific standpoint. Here let us say that by the Christian or truly scientific standpoint, which are identical, is meant the standpoint of common sense, i. e., when a fact is a fact beyond reasonable doubt and when at the same time it is a fact utterly inexplicable *under the circumstances* by any reasonable hypothesis through natural or created forces, such a fact should be accepted as a miracle.[35] This is the view held by the Church: but the growing belief in miracles of which we write, arises from extended views of man's position in the world and of forces at work in man's complex personality and of mysterious unsuspected forces

[34] *Dict. of Christ and the Gospels,* 1908, art. Miracles.
[35] "Miraculum est præter ordinem *totius* naturæ creatæ." *Summa.,* P. I. Q., XC., art. 4.

in nature itself; and also it must be owned, from the marvels of spiritism; so in a word it is not so much a belief in miracles as in marvels and wonders once held impossible. This is to be regretted, although doubtless good can be drawn from the growing tolerance towards the miraculous, but much more to be deplored is the attempt by some Christian writers to obliterate the distinction between the natural and the supernatural.[36] All of these diverging views are the swingings of the pendulum but the Church still stands where virtue stands and where the truth, the golden mean, is found.

As proof of a saner mind no matter what its genesis, it is refreshing to read the words of a philosopher like Professor James whose calm serenity rebukes the followers of what might be called the noisy scientific school, Huxley, Haeckel, Laing, etc.: "The verdict of pure insanity, of gratuitous preference for error, of superstition without an excuse which the scientists of our day are led by their intellectual training to pronounce upon the entire thought of the past is a most shallow verdict."[37] If the common attitude toward miracles of ordinary educated people whom he met in earlier days was accord-

[36] Cf. Miracles in Dict. just quoted and also in Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible*. The cessation of miracles is not claimed so confidently.

[37] *The Will to Believe*, 1897, p. 317.

ing to Mr. Lecky "one of absolute, derisive and even unexamining incredulity," [38] we can hope now that both classes will swing back to the standpoint of common sense and putting away "the simple presumption that in some way or other the reports *must* be fallacious" will examine this question of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius in a really scientific manner, i. e., in agreement with the spirit shown in the statement, that "Science means first of all a certain dispassionate method" and "in its essence science stands for a method and for no fixed belief." [39] All of which, to use a favorite phrase of to-day, means simply, to give the question a "square deal." [40]

[38] *History of European Morals,* Vol. I., Chap. 3, p. 348.
[39] *The Will,* etc., p. 319 and 325.
[40] "If any phenomenon were actually to occur which did proceed from the immediate causal action of the Deity, then *ex hypothesi,* there would be no physical causes to investigate and the occupation of Othello in the person of the man of science would be gone." *Thoughts on Religion,* by Romanes, Chicago, ed., p 46. The man of science could thankfully play the part of the *advocatus diaboli* before the (judicial) admission of the verity of the miracle.

No scientific explanation of the phenomena of the phials seems possible. There are other miracles equally inexplicable in our eyes but to one class in particular attention may be drawn, a class which excludes "unknown laws," all possibility of mere suggestion and of ocular delusion, and, that is, the instantaneous growth of tissue observed at Lourdes. Tissue requires time to grow, it is visible, suggestion cannot cause an immediate increase, by what power, then, did these tissues increase in size in a moment?

CHAPTER XVII.

"Let him weigh me in a just balance."—Job, 31, 6.

A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF THE CASE — THE QUESTION ASKED

Let us take a bird's eye view of the case. Here is a phial containing according to reliable testimony the blood of a martyr who shed it in the year 305. Bring this blood into view of the head of the martyr and a certain phenomenon or rather a series of phenomena take place. These phenomena are at variance with all the known laws of nature and are utterly inexplicable except under one hypothesis, namely that they constitute a miracle or an effect produced by God which is above all the forces of nature.[1]

[1] M. le Roy, who mentions, as one of the difficulties of ascertaining a fact to be miraculous, its production under circumstances which render it difficult to be observed exactly, might examine the liquefaction with satisfaction. *Revue des Sciences Phil. et Theol.*, 1907, p. 770. Whether their excogitators and defenders are aware of it or not, it seems pretty certain that many revivified idealistic theories are in reality to use Mr. G. K. Chesterton's words, "so many pseudo-scientific attempts to conceal from men the awful liberty of their lonely souls."

It is hard as a stone and will liquefy under the same conditions —

after a few minutes,
after a few hours,
instantly,
not at all,
suddenly and harden suddenly, or
slowly.

The liquefaction will be —

merely a few drops,
partial or in upper or lower part,
complete, or
complete except the *globo*.

The liquid mass will —

bubble,
not bubble,
be violently agitated, or
will circle around.

The liquid mass will be —

thick and viscous,
like water,
like warm blood, or
thick and lumpy.

The liquid mass will —

rise slowly,
rise quickly,

instantaneously,
not at all,
sink with the same regularities, or
rise and sink in a moment but never
apparently below a certain level.

It has been found —
hard,
liquid,
semi-liquid, or
liquid with *globo*.

It will melt when the temperature is high —
slowly
quickly, or
not at all: when low it will melt;
slowly,
quickly, or
not at all.

Its color will be —
blood red,
bluish,
black and ashy,
changeable.

When hard it will —
adhere to the sides, or
not adhere: when soft it leaves —
a trace, or
no trace.

Some days there will be observed a
vapor, but generally
no vapor.

When the volume increases the weight will —
increase, or
diminish.

When the volume diminishes the weight will —
diminish, or
increase.

It liquefies in presence of —
the head,
some other relic, or in the absence of both head and relic.

There it stands, gentlemen, this little phial, a pitifully small thing but it contains a mystery which up to the present no one has solved. You may believe or not believe it a miracle as you have a mind to: that is your right as far as your fellow-men are concerned. No one seeks to compel you whether you are a Christian or Pagan, Protestant or Catholic. You can finish the quotation from Horace and make it your own:[2]

Credat Judæus Apella.
Non ego.

[2] "The Jew Apella may believe this, not I."

But, the writer wishes to ask you a question (and to ask this question intelligently of his readers is the sole cause why he compiled this little work): Has any one the right to cast doubt upon the honesty and veracity of those in charge of this marvellous blood, or to sneer at those who, having studied it, prefer to believe that it can be said with truth; By the power of God

IN THIS BLOOD IS LIFE.

"And when he had opened the fifth seal, I saw under the altar the souls of those who were slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held. And they cried with a loud voice, saying: How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost thou not judge and revenge our blood on them who dwell on the earth? And white robes were given to every one of them one; and it was said to them that they should rest for a little time, till their fellow servants, and their brethren who are to be slain, even as they, should be filled up!

Apoc. 6, 9–11.

The compiler would wish it to be understood that the notes appended to the acts of the saint are not intended for scholars, as he is no expert, a fact doubtless evident enough of itself, but, they are added with the hope, that they may be interesting to the general reader and perhaps useful or stimulating to young students.

NAPLES, BENEVENTO AND OTHER PLACES CONNECTED WITH ST. J.

APPENDIX.

"This heap and the stone be they for a testimony."— Gen. 31, 52.

THE VATICAN ACTS OF ST. JANUARIUS WITH NOTES — THE COMMEMORATION IN BEDE'S MARTYROLOGY — POZZUOLI AND THE SOLFATARA — THE CATACOMBS OF NAPLES — CARDINAL NEWMAN AND THE LIQUEFACTION — JOHN THE DEACON — LIQUEFYING BLOODS — PRAYERS SAID AT THE EXPOSITIONS — LIST OF PATRON SAINTS — THE STONE IN THE CHURCH AT THE SOLFATARA

ACTS.[1]

In the time of Diocletian, emperor, and in the fifth consulate of Constantine,[2] and seventh of Maximian, there was a great persecution of the Christians. At that time Diocletian appointed Timothy,[3] a pagan, governor in the province of Campania and ordered him to offer sacrifices to idols and to compel all who believed in Christ to do the same. It happened as he

[1] This translation which is somewhat free is from the Vatican Acts. Where Scherillo is quoted his work entitled *Gli Atti del Martirio di S. Gennaro e Compagni riveduti, Napoli,* 1847 is meant.

[2] We are told that Constantine is here used for Constantius, and though many codices have "seventh" it should be the fifth of Maximianus also as he and Constantius were consuls together for the fifth time in 305.

[3] Timotheous succeeded Dracontius but the latter's name remains all through some codices.

was making the customary round of cities, he came to the city of Nola. There he ordered the officials [4] to present themselves before him and when they were present he began to inquire from them concerning the judgments of his predecessors. To him the officials related their deeds and among them when they reached the affairs of the blessed martyrs, Sosius, deacon of the church at Miseno and Proculus, deacon of the church at Pozzuoli and Eutychetes and Acutius, and how they had been tormented by various tortures and had been recast into prison by the order of the judge, he asked the officials what had been done with them. They replied saying that they for a long time were detained in chains and they uttered in addition evil remarks concerning the Blessed Januarius, bishop of Benevento.[5]

This most unjust Timothy having heard these remarks regarding Januarius, ordered him to be brought before him and when he was presented before his tribunal at Nola, Timothy the judge said to him: "Januarius, having heard of the reputation of your family I exhort you to sacrifice to the gods in obedience to the decrees of the invincible rulers. But if you are unwilling I shall subject you to horrible torments which shall savagely tear and bruise you, torments which the God whom you worship when he shall see

[4] *Officium,* the word we have translated by officials means in general the retinue or suits or entourage of a governor and included messengers, lictors, executioners, scribes, heralds, guards, etc., called also *apparitores,* for which see Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Latin Antiquities.*

[5] Benevento and Nola are not very far apart. Beneventum was once called Maleventum but the Romans who did not like words of evil import changed it to Beneventum or well-come.

them he himself shall fear." St. Januarius however replied: "Be silent, O unhappy man, and do not insult in my hearing Him who created heaven and earth, lest the Lord God may hear such a blasphemy as that which proceeds from your mouth and he may destroy you and you shall be mute and deaf, not hearing and like a blind man not seeing." Having heard these things the tyrant Timothy says to the saint: "Is it in your power that by any enchantments whatever you or your god can prevail against me?" St. Januarius replies: "My power is nothing but there is a God in heaven who can resist you and all who obey and abet you." And when he had said this the tyrant ordered him back to prison.[6]

[6] It may not be out of place here to remark that certain *a priori* ideas or rules formulated by some critics are to be accepted only with extreme caution. When we read for the first time some of the replies of the martyrs to their judges, some surprise arises at the vivacity and directness of their answers but when several acts of apparently good authority have been read, the surprise and the incipient doubt die away and this all the quicker if we recall the words used by St. John the Baptist and Our Lord, words very strong and stinging. There is also St. Paul's address to one of his interrogators: "Then Paul said to him: God shall strike thee, thou *whited wall.* For sittest thou to judge me according to the law, and contrary to the law commandest me to be struck!"—Acts, 23, 3.

Rohrbacher (*Histoire de l'Eglise,* 3rd ed. vol. 6, p. 88) observes with Gallic neatness and clearness, apropos of the acts of St. Tarachus and his companions already alluded to, "Critics have called in question the acts of several other martyrs because they have appeared to them either too long or filled with too many discourses or with torments too extraordinary or with too many miracles or with words too harsh towards the judges. Now the acts of these three saints unite in one all of these characteristics; they are very long, contain many discourses, unheard of torments, several miracles, along with words very harsh towards the governor . . . and

Being very angry he ordered a furnace to be heated for three days[7] and the saint to be cast into it. The holy man made the sign of the cross on his forehead, looked up to heaven sighing and extending his hands, and having entered the fiery furnace he was praising

nevertheless no one doubts their authenticity." This last clause needs some modification as Fr. Delehaye does not rate them so highly, still it can be added that Tillemont's objection to the acts of St. Januarius on the score of his language towards his judge loses weight in sight of St. Paul's words and those of other martyrs. The acts of St. Tarachus can be read in Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints* under Oct. II., who remarks that the answers and behavior of the martyrs were usually very respectful towards their impious judges and the most unjust tyrants. "They cast" says St. Augustine, "certain arrows of God against the impious and provoked them to anger; but they wounded many unto salvation."

The reader should bear in mind that the words and sentences placed in the mouths of the martyrs are often to be accepted like the speeches in Thucydides. The substance may be all right but seldom enough probably the wording which is due more to the scribes than to the saints. Critics however seem to err in expecting the same delicacy of address which we would think right to-day whereas both in the Scriptures and the Fathers there is at times a bluntness which strikes us sharply; and there is moreover a text which must be allowed some fulfillment even to our eyes: "But when they shall deliver you up, take no thought how or what to speak: for it shall be given you in that hour what to speak."— St. Matt. 10, 19.

[7] "Three days" seems almost a mere expression like "seven-fold" used frequently in the same connection but it would be an error to imagine that large furnaces are like small ones as much heated after a few hours as after a few days. The three children in the fiery furnace are recalled by this incident and St. John's immersion in the caldron of boiling oil. Several martyrs had to undergo the same fiery trial and miracles of escape if we can trust some of their Acts. Here remembering the words of St. Celestine, *Merito causa nos respicit si silentio foveamus errorem,* with great respect and timidity on account of Fr. Delahaye's authority as a Bollandist

God, saying: "O Lord Jesus Christ for sake of thy holy name I embrace willingly this suffering and I expect every promise which thou hast promised to

and his own inexperience, the writer ventures to remark ever so gently that he is too radical, if not in what he says at least in what by omission he permits his readers to infer. In chapter II. of *Legends of the Saints* he seems to allow it to be inferred that any marvellous incident in a saint's life found to be a duplicate of some pagan story is to be regarded as an adaptation. We have not the slightest objection to rejecting or at least holding in doubt or using only "for edification" all the "stock incidents of hagiography" which lack sufficient proof, but it would not have been out of place for the distinguished author to have stated in so many words that each event narrated no matter how strange or familiarly miraculous, depended on testimony for its acceptance and this whether in pagan or Christian times or in pagan or Christian lands.[1] No one will question this statement for our own day who has read, say Abbé Huc's *Travels in Tartary, Thibet and China* and Raupert's *Modern Spiritism.* At page 216, he says: "When we

[1] "A miracle might be worked apart from Christianity altogether and among people who profess Mohammedanism, Buddhism or any other form of religion, but it would be no necessary testimony to the truth of these creeds themselves." *Miracles* by Gideon W. B. Marsh, p. 37. To one who trusts strongly in divine providence there would be little difficulty in believing that a miracle was wrought in the case of the well-known "Pious Brethren of Katane" to reward devotion to parents. Two dutiful sons were carrying their parents to safety, one the mother and the other the father, but they would have been destroyed were it not that the stream of lava turned aside to leave them unhurt. Freeman's *History of Sicily,* Vol. I., p. 378.

Some of the long drawn out histories of the endless tortures which the early martyrs are said to have suffered, may seem certainly to tax our credulity yet they are somewhat paralleled by the long list of tortures inflicted upon the saintly Jogues and the indomitable de Brébeuf, whose story if found in a manuscript a thousand years old would excite on account of this very list the suspicions of many a critic.—*Catholic Heroes and Heroines of America,* John Kane O'Murray, New York, 1891.

those who love Thee. Hear me praying to Thee and deliver me from this flame thou who wert present with the three children, Ananias, Azarias, Misael in the fiery furnace and be with me in this my trial to deliver me from the hands of the enemy." Saying these things Blessed Januarius began to walk with holy angels in the midst of the fire praising the Father and Son and Holy Ghost.[8] When the soldiers who were around the furnace heard St. Januarius in its depth praising God

affirm that a particular saint has never existed we simply assert the fact that he is only known to us by a legend of insufficient authority to prove his existence." To this in itself there is not so much objection but it is quoted to show a tendency which seems too destructive and instead of affirming that a particular saint never existed it would be just as well and certainly much safer not to say that he "never existed" but instead, "of his existence we have not sufficient proof." The two phrases are not and should not be forced to appear identical in meaning. We would not care to see the *Acta Sincera SS. Eliæ and Elisei* subjected in disguise to some modern critic who knew not their authority. It would be a hard test even for some of the New Testament incidents. Providence might be permitted to produce some replicas and to duplicate some wonders.

In the acts of St. Tarachus we read that St. Probus replied to the governor who had said: "Where is he who is to aid thee?" "He aids me and will aid me for it is he who gives strength to despise thy torments and to resist them." The same reply appears in the answers of St. Conon and *pace* those crying *pas de reduplications!* a native martyr of China made the same reply to the same interrogation of a mandarin. *Les Actes des Martyrs,* p. 97. At times the authorities taught the Christians what responses to give but it will not be necessary to suppose the same was done in China in the 19th century though it is not impossible. The martyr might have read of others who like himself had the happiness of giving their lives for their faith.

[8] One objection to these acts was this: How could the bystanders know that the saints walked in the furnace since the doors were shut? This will scarcely strike the reader as a great difficulty.

they feared with a great fear and ran in great haste and told the judge saying, "We beseech thee, sir, not to be angry with us but we have heard the voice of Januarius in the furnace invoking his Lord and being greatly terrified we fled." Timothy hearing this ordered the furnace to be opened and when it was opened the flames shot out and devoured some incredulous pagans who were around about it. But St. Januarius appeared in the midst glorifying the Lord Jesus Christ so that the fire could not touch either his clothes or his hair.[9]

Timothy however when he had heard this ordered him before him and said to him: "Of what avail is it that the magic you exercise is powerful? By various torments I will make you perish."[10] Bl. Januarius replied: "It will not be well for thee, thou cruel tyrant,

[9] Punishments by fire were not customary in the first century and a half. Nero's method was novel but not legal. By the third century however death by burning was common enough. Generally it was by burning at the stake or by slow roasting as in the well known story of St. Lawrence, but the command to cast the prisoners into a furnace was not unknown. It is the height of absurdity to claim that because of the Romans' admiration and respect for law that all the executions of criminals and Christians were carried out according to its forms. Disregard for legal forms was common in the beginning of the fourth century as far as the faithful were concerned as there was no longer scarcely any pretext for their persecution save the desire for their extermination. At all times and in all countries will be found rulers who set aside formal rules of procedure. One might as well assert that because the Englishman loves law and respects it, he has never trampled it under foot in Ireland or India.

[10] It was a common thing for the pagans to attribute the miracles and marvellous deeds of the Christians to sorcery. Their readiness to do so points to a condition and not merely to a theory of spiritistic influence. The Chinese some years ago accredited the marvellous fortitude of the martyrs to magical influences. Le Blant, op. cit. p. 104.

to alienate the servant of Christ from the truth of Christ or to cause me to obey through fear.[11] I will hope in the Lord. I will not fear no matter what men may do to me," and thus replying the judge ordered him led back to prison.

On another day early in the morning Timothy had Januarius before him: "How long, unhappy man, will you refuse to sacrifice to the immortal gods? Approach now and offer incense. If not I shall order you to be beheaded and if he can, let your God free you from my hands." The saint replied: "You do not know that the power of God is great. Would that you would repent so that my God might pardon you whom you say to be unable to free me from your hands. When you speak thus you are heaping up wrath for yourself on the day of wrath."

The judge not liking this speech ordered his shackles to be removed.[12] Januarius prayed God saying: "O

[11] One of the objections against these acts by Tillemont and others is that the saint invokes an imprecation on the tyrant. Scherillo finds only the exclamation, *nunquam bene sit tibi crudelis tyranne, ut a veritate Christi alienetur servus ejus,* and sees in it merely an emphatic asservation, being a translation of the Greek μή σοι καλῶς εἰή, which might be represented in this context by "albeit, far be it from thee." The translation given above conveys the meaning with sufficient clearness though it is not by any means a literal one. The acts of St. Tarachus contain the same expression. The objection to the prayer of the saint later on where he asks his judge to be punished is not so easily answered but as already observed, there is no certainty that the scribe rendered either the words or the sense of the saint's prayer if he prayed aloud or that he interpreted the saint's silence correctly if he uttered no words. The saint could easily have prayed that the tyrant be punished either for his own improvement or the benefit of others as prayed the Psalmist of old. The wording of the saint's petition, here very poor, is evidently due to the ignorance of the compiler of the acts.

[12] The Latin has here *jussit ut nervi ejus excluderentur*

Lord Jesus Christ who hast not abandoned me from my mother's womb now hear thy servant crying to thee and command me to depart this world and obtain thy mercy." The judge thinking how he would kill him sent him back to prison. While guarded by soldiers in hard captivity, two of his clergy, the deacon Festus and the reader Desiderius learned of their bishop's captivity and being moved by the Holy Ghost they immediately set out from Beneventum and came to Nola, and there weeping they cried: "Why is such a man in custody? What crimes did he commit? When did he fail to aid those in trouble? What sick man was visited by him without regaining health? Who ap-

a corpore. If *nervi* be taken for nerves this apparently means that he ordered the nerves to be taken from his body and the singularity of the command has aroused much discussion. It has been explained as meaning that he was to be flogged or racked until his nerves would be exposed; or that the nerves were to be cut, and even literally that the nerves were really to be excised from his body.

This could scarcely have been the meaning as the saint is represented as walking before his judge's chariot to Pozzuoli and no allusion is made to what would certainly have been a very great miracle. If the Greek original were at hand the difficulty would probably vanish; as it is the Acta Puteolana offer a satisfactory solution as they read: *Tunc iratus Præses jussit compedes absolvi ut mortis timor immittat,* "then the angry judge ordered his shackles to be removed that the fear of death might come upon him," that is, as if about to be put to death immediately, and Januarius is represented as then commending himself to God. *Nervi* and *compedes* are used interchangeably as we see in Tab. XII., apud Gell. 20, I. *vincito aut nervo aut compedibus* — Andrews, *Lexicon,* and also in Job. 33, II., *posuit in nervo pedes meos,* "he hath put my feet in the stocks."

The sinews of bullocks were used in war machines and also to draw asunder the legs of prisoners to force their feet into the holes of the stocks, whence the term *nervus* used for the latter.— Allard's *Ten Lectures on the Martyrs,* p. 225.

proached him weeping and went away not rejoicing?"[13] Their words were reported to Timothy who ordered them at once to be detained and along with Januarius to be brought before him, whereupon he asked Januarius who were these two and the saint replied: "One is my deacon and the other is my reader." "Do they proclaim themselves Christians?" "Certainly, for if you ask them, I hope in my Lord Jesus Christ that they will not deny themselves to be Christians," and being asked, they said: "We are Christians and we are prepared to die for the love of God."

Then Timothy filled with anger ordered Januarius bishop, along with Festus the deacon and Desiderius the reader, to be bound in chains and to be dragged before his chariot to the city of Pozzuoli, determining that there along with Sosius, Proculus, Eutyches and Acutius, they should be delivered up to wild beasts.[14]

[13] The Church disapproved of those who voluntarily confessed Christ yet some did it so apparently under the impulse of the Spirit that no fault was found. The deacons here did not give themselves up exactly but went to comfort their bishop as the laws and customs of the Church ordained that deacons should visit and aid the imprisoned faithful.

That they should discover themselves by their actions and words is not very wonderful under the circumstances but we are not bound to take the words given in the acts as their own.

"It was the custom of our predecessors to send deacons to the prisons who saw to the needs of the martyrs and read to them from Holy Scripture." St. Cyprian, ep. 15.

"Each one must be ready to confess his faith but nobody must seek martyrdom." St. Cyprian, ep. 81.

[14] Instances are not unknown in which the martyrs were taken about with the governor during his administrative expeditions and brought before him anew at each of the towns through which he passed.—Allard's *Ten*

When they were come to Pozzuoli, they were kept in prison until the arena was prepared. On the day appointed they were led into the amphitheatre and Timothy coming ordered the wild beasts to be let loose and when this was done, St. Januarius cried: "O brethren, seize the shield of faith and let us pray to the Lord our Helper in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth." And the mercy of God was so present that to the feet of Januarius like sheep with heads down ran the wild beasts.[15] The unbelieving

Lectures, p. 237. St. Augustine in one of his sermons mentions martyrs carried about in chains. (*2. Sermon in Psalm,* 101–2)

[15] Both when Pagans and Christians were exposed to wild beasts it has happened that these would not attack men or women for some reason not always clearly understood. Tacitus tells us of one, Mariccus, who tried to pass as a god and whom the beasts in the amphitheatre spared but Vitellius would not spare him but with quick decision ordered him to be slain and it was done. In some cases it appears that the beasts having smelled the victims refused to touch them, probably owing to the perfumes with which sometimes the condemned anointed their bodies. The result of this information is that each case would have to be investigated on its own merits as to its miraculous side. This would not be so difficult as might at first sight appear provided the manner in which the beasts acted were known. If they were simply sullen or refused to be provoked or if they approached the prey destined for them by man and turned quietly away after sniffing them, such cases might justly be regarded as not proven miraculous, but if the wild animals rushed with fierceness almost right up to the martyrs and then stopped short or if they approached as the wolf did St. Francis, we might safely conclude to divine intervention, as apparently can be done in the case of St. Januarius. Sometimes one wild beast refused a victim whom another killed immediately. In the intensely interesting acts of St. Perpetua, in the *Lives of the Saints* by Butler under March 7, there is a tale of a bear and a leopard and a saint worth reading.

And in the *Acta Sanctorum,* Jan. 9, we read a fierce lion let loose ran furiously toward St. Marciana who was

judge had the beasts removed and the saints of God taken from the arena and brought before his tribunal, where sitting in state he dictated their sentence: "We order to be beheaded, Januarius bishop, Sosius, Proculus and Festus deacons, Desiderius reader, Eutyches and Acutius, citizens of Pozzuoli, who have professed themselves Christians and have despised the sacrifices of the gods and the commands of the emperor." But Bl. Januarius looking up to heaven said: "Lord Jesus Christ who descended from on high for the redemption of the human race, deliver me and free me from the hand of this enemy and I beg thee my God that you punish Timothy for the things he did against me thy servant and that thou blind his eyes so that he may not see the light of heaven." When he had finished his prayer darkness fell on his eyes and suddenly he was made blind. Then prayed Januarius to the Lord, and said: "I give thanks to thee, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hast heard thy servant and destroyed the eyes of the impious Timothy because many souls on account of him have been perverted to the evil spirits.[16]

tied to a stake, and planted its paws upon her chest, then having smelt her, touched her no longer. A bull gored her and finally a man-eating leopard killed her.[2]

Rationalists can easily admit such facts as bears sparing victims as they can claim that the martyrs were in an ecstasy or a faint or simulated death and on the testimony of wild-animal hunters, bears will not touch the bodies of pretending dead men.

[16] Stilting the Bollandist writer on St. Januarius and

[2] In the *Compendium Actorum Japonensium*, Rome, 1862, p. 17, there is a statement that a species of birds called *Mascangues*, which are accustomed to tear the bodies of the dead touched not at all the bodies of the martyrs though they hung for two months on their crosses. It it extremely interesting to read in this same martyrdom that Father Peter Baptist while hanging on his cross to which he was fastened by cords baptized a convert!

Then Timothy was suffering with his stricken eyes and the pain was increasing. Repentant he began to cry out and say to the officials: "Go, bring Januarius to me." And they going found him lead along by the executioners on the incline that leads to the Solfatara and bringing him back they set him before the judge and a great multitude of people was attracted by the sight. But Timothy began to cry out with a great cry and to say to Bl. Januarius: "Januarius, servant of the most high God,[17] pray the Lord, thy God, for me blind that I may recover the sight which I have lost." Then Januarius raising his eyes to heaven prayed:

especially Tillemont, *Memoires pour l'histoire Ecclesiastique, etc.,* tom. V., p. 365, cannot see this blindness with equanimity and still less the judge's recovery, and no doubt this latter taxes our credulity. Baronius, in his annals for the year 305, after relating the event, adds: "as formerly Paul did to Elymas the Magician." This Bar-Jesu or Elymas tried to turn the proconsul Paulus Sergius away from faith and St. Paul said to him: "O, full of all guile and of all deceit, child of the devil, enemy of all justice, thou ceasest not to pervert the right ways of the Lord. And now behold the hand of the Lord is upon thee and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a time. And immediately there fell a mist and a darkness upon him and going about, he sought some one to lead him by the hand." Notice the blindness is only *for a time;* St. Paul's address to him is plain speaking. It is not all improbable that Timotheus would still sentence Januarius as the miracle of the latter had been both against and for the judge, and the fear of the emperor was always very potent.

In the *Actes des Martyrs de l'Égypte* (page 275), translated from the Coptic by Professor Hyvernat of the Catholic University of Washington, we read that the executioners at the prayer of the martyr St. Apa Didyme, who was a priest, became blind and again by his intercession were cured. The governor in this case as usual attributed the marvellous event to magic.

[17] This expression is certainly very improbable, yet not quite impossible in the mouth of a Pagan: it may be due to the compiler.

"God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob, hear my prayer and restore to Timothy though unworthy his eyes that all the people present may know that thou art God and there is no other but thee; for we may not return evil for evil." And when St. Januarius had finished his prayer his eyes were opened. The multitude seeing the wonderful things which the Lord wrought by Januarius his martyr, many of the bystanders believed in the Lord Jesus Christ, almost five thousand and they cried out raising their voices: "Will not the God of such and so great a man be feared? Will he not perhaps take revenge for their sufferings and death and will we not all likewise perish?"[18] Januarius was very beautiful both in body and disposition.[19] Then the impious judge Timothy

[18] The conversion of five thousand excites almost the scorn of Mazzochi but Scherillo after showing some examples of great numbers turning Christians at once goes on to state that these acts do not say, five thousand were converted but that many were, and the five thousand refer to the great crowd which had gathered on the return of the saint and which raised a shout on seeing the miracle. The reader can judge for himself if this text as we have it can bear this interpretation.

"Videntes autem turba mirabilia, quæ per B. Januarius martyrem Dominus operatus est, multi ex circumstantibus crediderunt in Dominum Jesum Christum, animæ fere quinque millia clamantes atque hujusmodi dantes voces ad cælum: Non timeatur tanti talisque viri Deus? ne forte ulciscatur angustias mortemque ejus et omnes nos pariter pereamus?"

[19] Mazzochi, who found all possible fault with the *Acta Vaticana* in order to exalt his favorite Bolognese, objects to this abrupt introduction of a remark upon the attractive personal appearance of our saint, but Scherillo replies that this touch of personality reveals in the writer of the Acts a man of good judgment and knowledge of the human heart and adds that even towards an unknown person we are naturally disposed to be well inclined and to defend him if distinguished by a pleasing and handsome exterior.

seeing such a crowd turned toward the Lord was troubled and (lest the servant of the Lord Jesus Christ might be deprived of his crown) fearing the commands of the emperor the judge ordered the soldiers to take him away quickly and to behead him with the holy martyrs.[20]

When they were on their way to martyrdom a certain old and very poor man, hoping favor from Januarius placed himself in his way and fell at his feet and besought him that he might receive some of his clothes. But Januarius said to that old man: "When my body has been buried thou wilt see that I myself will give thee my orarium with which I will have bound my eyes."[21] The mother also of St. Januarius residing at Benevento, three days before her son suffered, saw in a dream that Januarius was flying in the air to heaven and when she was puzzled by the dream and would inquire what it meant, suddenly it was announced to her that her son was imprisoned for the

[20] The ingratitude of the judge strikes us, but there are other examples of similar acts related in history, and it may be recalled to mind that in this as in many other cases the punishment and its cure would be regarded as works of magic. The story of St. Clement and Sisinius is to the point. Mullooly's *St. Clement*, Rome, 1869, p. 165, and also that of St. Potitus and one of the Antonines, Jan. 13, *Acta SS.*

[21] *Orarium* is a word variously interpreted. It can mean a stole, a handkerchief, a veil, etc. The emperors sometimes distributed them to wave applause at the games. The Romans used a band of linen or silk which was shaped somewhat like a priest's stole and was worn around the neck in much the same fashion. It was used to wipe the face. At the time of St. Januarius they wore a garment called a stole, which was, however, quite different from ours, resembling a tunic with sleeves. Later on the name seems to have been applied to the ornamental band of such a tunic used alone more by way of adornment than of utility.— Godard's *Archéologie Sacrée*, Vol. 2, p.

love of God. She however greatly terrified, prostrating herself in prayer before the Lord, gave up her spirit.

In the meantime when the saints had arrived at the place where they were to be beheaded, that is at the Solfatara, St. Januarius kneeling prayed: "O Lord, omnipotent God into thy hands I commend my spirit" and then rising he took his orarium and bound his eyes and kneeling again he placed his hand on his neck and asked the executioner to strike. The executioner struck with great force and cut off at the same time a finger of the saint's hand and his head.[22] The other saints received likewise their crown. St. Januarius

301, but our modern stole is said to be a descendant of the orarium and not of the ancient stole.— Pellicia's *Polity of the Christian Church,* p. 177. It must have been of some value to judge from the saint's promise to give it to the old man and of course at that day it was not a sacred vestment.[3] This particular *orarium* became very valuable as a relic and was apparently preserved a long time in the Cathedral at Naples and was even used as protection against Vesuvius. In the seventh lesson of an ancient office of St. Januarius, we read "Beati Januarii Martyris tui, Domine, velo contra ignem posito, ignis extinctus est, ut ostenderet sicut promiserat, quia Patriæ liberator est." All trace is lost of it. Taglialatela — *Del Culto di S. Gennaro,* p. 10. St. Paul, on his way to martyrdom, borrowed, according to pseudo-Linus a veil from Plautilla to whom he promised to return it after his death.— Acts of the Apostles (Apocryphal) *Dictionary of Christian Biography.*

[22] Some think the saint may have raised his hand to di-

[3] The word *orarium* as a vestment occurs for the first time in the West, in the sixth century although in the East, it appears as early as the middle of the fourth. Though a Latin word, *Orarium* went over into Greek and is still used to designate a deacon's stole and the Greek word στολή, as *stola,* came over into the Latin and usurps orarium's place in ecclesiastical standing. Braun — *Die Liturgische Gewandung,* Freiburg, 1907, p. 565.

after his execution appeared to the old man and offered him as he had promised the orarium which had bound his eyes and said: "Behold what I promised you, take it as I promised it," and he took it and hid it in his bosom with great reverence. The executioners and two other officials seeing the old man, laughingly asked him: "Have you got what he who was beheaded promised?" But he said, "Yes," and showed them the orarium which they recognized and wondered greatly. On the very same hour at which St. Januarius and the holy martyrs were beheaded the cruel Timothy began to suffer very much and he was exclaiming aloud: "I suffer these pains for having treated Januarius the servant of God so impiously. The angels of God torment me." And when he had been long tormented he gave up the ghost.[23]

The Christians of various cities were guarding the bodies of the saints that they might carry them off at night to their own cities and they kept a careful though secret watch and when night was come and all were sleeping, St. Januarius in the silence of the night appeared to one of those who were prepared to take away his body and said to him: "Brother, when you take away my body know that the finger of my

rect the executioner's aim, but it is not hard to imagine how the finger might have been cut off. Other saints have aided their executioners, as for example, St. Perpetua.

[23] That in modern, as well as in earlier, times judges died under circumstances so striking as to connect their death with that of their victims is well known. When Bishop Terence O'Brein of Emly was sentenced by General Ireton, Cromwellie's son-in-law, he is said to have summoned him before the judgment seat of God. Within a few weeks Ireton died of the plague, after protesting often that the bishop's condemnation was the cause of his death. See Dalton's *History of Ireland,* Vol. II, p. 336, and Haverty's *History of Ireland,* for year 1651.

hand is missing. Seek it and place it with my body.[24] And so it was done as the saint himself had admonished. The bodies of the saints lay at the Solfatara where later was founded a church[25] worthy of St. Januarius the martyr.[26]

[24] Not only the Egyptians but the Romans, though less passionately, desired their bodies preserved entire after death, and this same desire lingered long among the Christians (Ad Sanctos — *Dict. d'Arch. Chret.*, p. 483) as we see plainly from the interesting epitaph of Abercius (*Acta Sanct.*, Oct. 22: Abercius — *Cath. Encyc.*). This wish animated the martyrs also as we see from the genuine acts (*Legends of the Saints*, p. 119) of St. Fructuosus of Arragon, who, after his martyrdom, appeared to his friends, who had carried off portions of his body, and directed them to return these relics so that his corpse might rest intact. (*Acta Sanct.*, Jan. 21.)

[25] The basilica or small church erected near the Solfatara stands upon the site of his death according to the inscriptions placed on it, but as this point is disputed and as all these inscriptions are of a comparatively late date, we are inclined to believe that the saint suffered martyrdom at the usual place of public punishment, and that the church really stands over his tomb, where it was built, while his body still rested there. If his fellow-citizens had to steal his body by night would they inter it where it lay? Moreover, though sometimes churches were erected over the spot of death, it was not the common custom, the graves being preferred.

[26] Here end the *Acta Vaticana* as given in the manuscript published by the Bollandists with the usual phrase: *Explicit passio Januarii mart.* — Here ends the passion of Januarius martyr. The last paragraph is taken from other codices in their possession. This codex, omitting as it does all mention of the translation of the saint's body, makes by this omission a strong plea for its antiquity and to a certain extent for the credibility of its contents as the additions and embellishments which lessen the value of so many *acta* are due to a much later date. As we are not concerned here particularly with the investigation of its authenticity we simply add that they have been left out of the famous collection by Ruinart.

The term *passio* tells against their pretensions to be original *acta* as critics admit only two codices styled

At night when each group was seeking to carry away the bodies of their own as patrons, the Neapolitans taking the Bl. Januarius as their patron were favored by the Lord, whose body at first indeed they hid at Marcian's farm. Afterwards when peace was restored venerable bishops, together with all the relatives of St. Januarius, and with the clergy taking his body brought

passiones to be genuine acts, namely, those of St. Perpetua and St. Montanus. (Actes des Martyrs, p. 373—*Dict. d'Arch. Chret.*) All the others bearing this term are regarded as compiled for edification and more or less augmented, interpolated and from a historical point of view disfigured. The absence of legal formulary and of the regular interrogations which the law prescribed and of the exact date of death goes also to prove they are not taken from the *acta* in the strict sense. It is true these points in themselves would not disprove their authority as history, but they cast a doubt upon them; and when in addition, the extravagant language, the number of miracles and the improbability of some of them, the disagreement of various codices and martyrologies are taken into account, not to go further into detail, it can be easily understood why Ruinart rejected them and why they have fared no better at the hands of E. Preuschen, G. Krüger and Fr. van den Gheyn who have all tried to draw up lists of acts which can stand the test of modern criticism. (Dict. cit., p. 408). Prudently, then, did Vincenzo de Crescenzo, in an able article (La Critica Moderna nella Storia delle Persecuzioni) though writing for the sixteenth centennial celebration of the feast of St. Januarius, in a special number of the Neapolitan *Revista di Scienze e Lettere,* Sept.–Oct., 1905, leave the subject of these acts untouched, a subject, he thinks and with good reason, discussed with "too much partiality and vivacity." Yet when all is said we would not think it wise to reject even the major part of them, or indeed to cut out definitely, any large portion, because each naked fact in them, natural or supernatural, may one day be established, documents of importance may be discovered and anyhow as "the whole question of the acts of the martyrs in the Occident is profoundly obscure" to use Le Clercq's words, it is much safer to let them go unsentenced until new evidence be gathered.

it amidst hymns and canticles to Naples and deposited it in the basilica where it now rests. Who through his merits with Jesus Christ ceases not to confer memorable favors down to the present day: his Natal day is celebrated September 19. His fellow-citizens of Miseno[27] took the deacon St. Sosius and placed him in the basilica where he now rests, September 23: and their fellow-citizens of Pozzuoli took the deacon St. Proculus, and St. Eutychetes and St. Acutius and deposited them in the villa of Falcidius which is adjoining the basilica of St. Stephen at the junction of the three roads. In the same way their fellow-citizens brought St. Festus and St. Desiderius to Beneventum.

FROM THE MARTYROLOGY OF BEDE AS GIVEN BY THE BOLLANDISTS.

"Sept. 19, at Naples in Campania the feast of Saints Januarius, bishop of Beneventum with Sosius of Mesenum a deacon and Festus his deacon and Desiderius his lector; who after chains and prisons were beheaded at Pozzuoli under Diocletian, emperor and Dracontius, judge. When they were being led to death they saw among others, Proculus of Pozzuoli deacon, and two laymen, Eutychetes and Acutius, and these asked why were the just sentenced to be killed, whom when the judge saw they were Christians he ordered them to be beheaded with the others. So all seven equally suffered death. And the Christians took their bodies by night; the Neapolitans placed St. Januarius in a basilica near the city, and the Misenese, Sosius also

[27] Misenum, a mere ruin now, was situated near the end of western arm of the bay of Pozzuoli and was an episcopal city. It was destroyed by the Saracens about the end of the ninth century.

in a basilica, and the Puteolani, Proculus and Eutychetes and Acutius in the basilica of St. Stephen, and the Beneventians took Festus and Desiderius."

POZZUOLI AND THE SOLFATARA.

There are few more beautiful pieces of this world than the semi-circle formed by the Bay of Pozzuoli of which the city itself may be regarded as the centre, the headland of Posilippo the eastern limit and the Capo Miseno the western. The whole sea coast of this peaceful looking spot is rich with places well known in history and associated with names famous or infamous for all time. Pozzuoli itself called Puteoli by the Romans dates back six centuries before the time of Christ. It lies there sleepily enough now and the few little boats that creep in and out suggest only by way of contrast the numerous fleets from Egypt, Spain, Sardinia, and Tyre that darkened its waters in ancient days and made its harbor one of the noisiest and busiest in Italy. Here St. Paul landed from the good ship Castor and Pollux of Alexandria after his shipwreck and three months' stay at the island of Melita or Malta whose inhabitants, barbarians though they are called after the Greek fashion, are forever remembered because they treated the unfortunate visitors well, and here he tarried seven days because the brethren he found were hospitable, before he continued his journey to the Eternal city where his crown awaited him.[28] A little distance to its right stands an

[28] From hence (Syracuse) compassing by the shore we came to Rhegium; and after one day, the south wind blowing, we came the second day to Puteoli, where finding brethren, we were desired to tarry with them seven days: and so we went to Rome."—Acts 28, 13.

old temple of Serapis which, built on dry land, was nevertheless submerged for many years beneath the waves of the sea, whilst the little shell-fish lithodomi drilled their tiny galleries in its cipollino columns, and then it was slowly pushed up until it is just out of the water, and if the descendants of the lithodomi wished to enter the homes of their ancestors they would have a climb of ten or twelve feet! Other temples still lie under the waves, their ruins plainly seen through the clear transparent water. Beyond this is the Stabilimento Armstrong, a factory for great guns: that is the modern note. Still further on and more inland rises Monte Nuovo, nature's modern addition, for less than four centuries ago no mountain was there! It was born among earthquakes, thunder and fire, at its coming lakes were dried up and now its sides are clothed with green and trees grow so that it is peaceful and ancient enough looking and its centre is a very deep crater void of life. Near by lies Lake Avernus, an old acquaintance of school boys and it is nothing but another tame crater filled with water. The idea that it was the entrance to lower regions has some foundation. Across the bay lies Baiae summoning up the lurid names of Nero and his ill-fated mother Agrippina. Cumae is close enough to bring to mind that Sibyl whom the Æneid immortalises. The Promontory of Posilippo with its Grotto looks down upon the rock whereupon sat Virgil, poet to us, wizard to the medieval days, when dreaming or weaving magic spells. He and Horace, the cleverest of them all, and Petrarch, the sonneteer, are jostling one another in memory, present scenes forgotten, until walking along by the villas on the hill the name of Thalberg brings us back abruptly to modern music and times with just a

passing thought of Pergolesi who sleeps in the Cathedral of San Proculo at Pozzuoli secure that his name is forever coupled with the *Stabat Mater*.[29]

Of all the sights between Naples and Pozzuoli and in the surrounding neighborhood the most interesting but not the most beautiful is the Solfatara.[30] Unhampered by guides or by much knowledge of its history or acquaintance with its peculiarities, what delight to roam in there and discover its wonders for oneself! On entering we laughed together thinking we had made a mistake as it seemed a park almost wild, with a pleasant walk and grass under foot and many a flower brightening the green, and bushes and a few trees were not wanting, but after following the path which narrowed and wound in and out we came quite suddenly on a change of scene — there arose up in front and on both sides so as to form two-thirds of a natural amphitheatre, black, bleached and streaked hills of a color suggesting cinders and sulphur and before them stretched a white expanse resembling a rink. The herbage grew scant and died away at our feet on the shore. We advanced cautiously and timidly, when suddenly we started, becoming aware for the first time of the smoke which was curling out of numerous fissures in the hills and notably out of a wider one closer than the rest to the ground, and we thus discovered the cause of the noise, like escaping steam, and slight booming sounds we had been hearing for sometime almost unconsciously. Scarcely had we recovered from this surprise when my companion nearly fainted from

[29] To attempt to jot down all the historical names connected with this spot would be like copying an index to Roman history: Cicero, Pompey, Sulla, Hannibal, Augustus, Tiberius, Cæsar, Nero, Caligula, etc.

[30] Solfatara means a sulphur-pit.

fright when he discovered by stamping on the white powdered surface that the ground below was hollow and he was really walking over the crater of a volcano not quite extinct. It was with great difficulty that he could be persuaded to advance any further, especially as we soon noticed the flooring appeared to be yielding to our weight. Walking a trifle apart we came to a hole, just like one a boy might make in ice on a pond, but in it was something which might well make the stoutest quake. Here the crust that was shaking was not an inch in thickness and below we could see a small portion, but enough to satisfy our curiosity, of a lake of boiling mud! There we did not linger long. All around we strolled and, how a guide did start up just at the right moment, held burning sticks in the stream of vapor above mentioned and then we watched with awe an increased volume of smoke pour out of every little chimney near and far, and we entered into a cavern far enough to get disagreeably warm, and altogether we thoroughly enjoyed that afternoon, the element of fear being just strong enough to add zest to the novelty of the situation.

Near here then, perhaps right in the crater itself, St. Januarius and his companions met their death so bravely and calmly and we could not help wondering where their unjust judges were. The signs of fire all around are very suggestive "And the smoke of their torments shall ascend forever." Not far from the Solfatara about midway between it and the sea stands a church over the spot where the saint was buried temporarily. From there it is not a very long walk to the ruins of the amphitheatre where the martyrs had been exposed to the wild beasts. It

was easy enough to reconstruct the scene. See a bull-fight in Madrid and substitute bears and condemned for bulls and toreadors and you can hear in imagination the growls of the animals arise from the grass-grown arena and the hum of the multitude that crowded the now broken-down and deserted stone seats. The dens of the beasts and the rooms of the gladiators can still be easily distinguished and in one of these, den or room, there stands a small altar as it has been turned into a chapel plain and simple enough, for here the saint was confined. An iron gate protects it and mass is said in it from time to time. This circus was no mean affair as it was 472 feet long by 384 wide and could accommodate 15,000 people. As the inscription placed in this chapel on a marble slab may interest some it is given: the dividing signs mark the lines in the original as printed in Taglialatela, p. 427.

In hoc amphiteatro | quod quæritur non est | quod est | non quærebatur | ut fideles inveniant | Fr. Dominicus Maria Marchesius | Ordinis Prædicatorum | Puteolanus Antistes | carcerem pervetustum | beatorum Martyrum Januarii | Proculi et sociorum | antiquitate clausum | devotioni aperuit | meliora non est passa | antiquitas | nec melius martyres | invenerunt | deficeret Puteolanæ | antiquitati | si sacra occlusa non patefierent | religiosus episcopus | pro religione debuit hoc | dum | gentilium fragmenta extant | sacra integra perseverant | venerare | sanctam antiquitatem | noviter inventam | indulgentia xxxx dierum | ab codem antistite auctam | Anno Domini MDCLXXXIX.

THE CATACOMBS OF NAPLES.

As the Catacombs of Naples are mentioned a few times it may interest the general reader to have a very brief description of them.[31]

The hills upon which Naples lies, Vomero, Posilipo, Capo di Monte, etc., consist of yellow tufa formed of the ashes thrown out by the Phlegræan volcanoes or by submarine craters of long ago. This tufa overlaid with layers of gray ashes and pumice-stone is soft enough to be cut by axes or saws and yields building material. It is harder than the *tufa* granular of the Roman Catacombs and in consequence the galleries are broader and the chambers more extensive so that architecturally they surpass the underground cemeteries of the Eternal City but in every other way they are inferior and less important.

The catacombs excavated in this yellow tufa consist of four main galleries of which, however, two only are now connected by staircases and accessible to visitors. Along the walls are hollowed out niches of three different forms ranged in rows one above the other. "The bones which fill many chambers and corridors are generally those of victims of the plagues which ravaged Naples in the 16th century." (Baedeker's *Southern Italy,* ed. 1903, p. 81.) The tombs have been all emptied of their original occupants and much of the Catacombs has disappeared with the expansion of the

[31] The name St. Januarius which catches the eye in the beautifully decorated Crypta Quadrata of the Catacombs of St. Prætextus is not that of our saint but of one of the sons of St. Felicitas martyred in 162. There is an illustration of this crypt in F. X. Kraus — *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst,* Vol. I., p. 45.

city. The present ones owe their preservation mainly to the height of the hill into which they burrow.

In the beginning some of these catacombs may have been quarries but whether or no they had been used by the Christians as a burial place very early indeed in the first century perhaps, certainly in the second and the frescoes in some of them go back to (the first part of) the third century, (Le Clercq-*Manuel d'Arch. Chrèt.* Vol. I. app. III., 1907.) and though Scherillo thinks pagans once used them they seem to have been always Christian, despite some decorations without any religious significance and an odd gentile sign here and there. (*Civiltà Cattolica,* Series VIII. Vol. V. p. 550.

The frescos of the earliest centuries are generally merely ornamental consisting of circles, lines, flowers and doves as we find in places in the Roman Catacombs, displaying nothing distinctly religious, but the later ones, often painted over prior colors, are Christain in subject and treatment and are at times of beauty and striking skill. Here we find as usual in such places, Adam and Eve, Jonah, Daniel in the lion's den, Sts. Peter and Paul, Our Saviour, Monograms of Christ, etc., and a scene from the Pastor of Hermas noticeable for having only three Virgins instead of twelve. The paintings of the martyrs have been mentioned.

At the entrance of the lower floor we find the Martyr's church "with a slightly vaulted roof. It was divided into a nave and sanctuary by two pillars, the bases of which remain. In the sanctuary stands the altar, built of rough stone and a rude bishop's seat in an apse behind it. On the South wall are the arcosolia of John I. A. D. 432, and Paul A. D. 764, who ac-

cording to John the Deacon desired to be buried near St. Januarius. In other rooms we find a well and a cistern, recesses for lamps, and the remnants of a Christian mosaic painting." (*Dict. of Christ. Antiquities* — Smith and Cheetman. Vol. I. p. 316, ed. 1880.)

There are some other catacombs in Naples but they are unimportant and cannot now be reached, except those of St. Gaudentius at the Church of *Santa Maria della Sanità,* containing two chambers decorated in the fifth and sixth centuries. The Catacombs said by ancient writers to exist in the hill upon which St. Martino sits exalted, with its magnificent church and fine lonely halls, have not as yet been discovered.

CARDINAL NEWMAN AND THE LIQUEFACTION.

In his "Essay upon Scripture Miracles" page 60 Newman wrote as early as 1825, "that the professed liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood was unsatisfactory because it was gradual; a progressive effect being a characteristic, as it seems, of the operations of nature" and at page 63 he classified the "pretended liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius" among those apparent miracles which may be attributed to the supposed operation of an existing physical cause, which shows that he was not well informed as to the phases and variations of the wonder of Naples. He stated later in 1870 that he had gone beyond both the needs and the claims of his argument, when, in order to show the special dignity and beauty of Scripture Miracles, he depreciated the purpose and value of the Miracles of Church History.

At page 300 of his "Present Position of Catholics in England," written in 1850, speaking of the number of miracles in the Catholic Church, he states "St. Januarius's blood liquefies periodically at Naples," and at page 302 of the same work: "Bring before the Protestant the largest mass of evidence and testimony in proof of the miraculous liquefaction of St. Januarius's blood at Naples, let him be urged by witnesses of the highest character, chemists of the first fame, circumstances the most favorable for the detection of imposture, coincidences, and confirmations the most close and minute and direct, he will not believe it; his First Principle *blocks* belief." On the page immediately preceding he tells what this First Principle is — "Both they and we start with the miracles of the Apostles; and then their First Principle or presumption, against our miracles, is this, 'What God did once, he is *not* likely to do again:' while our First Principle or presumption, for our miracles, is this, 'What God did once, He *is* likely to do again.'" Later on he adds, that this "is a short and easy way of getting rid of the whole subject, not by reason, but by a First Principle which he (the Protestant) calls reason."

In a note to the seventh lecture in the same work, p. 408, he gives the conditions under which a fact can be received as miraculous and uses the liquefaction as an example: "— (1) it must be possible; (2) must be parallel to God's known works in nature or in revelation or suitable to Him; (3) must be clearly beyond the operation of chemical or other scientific means, or jugglery of man or evil spirit; and (4) must be wrought publicly.

At page 312 we read: "I will avow distinctly, that,

putting out of the question the hypothesis of unknown laws of nature (that is, of the professed miracle being not miraculous), I think it impossible to withstand the evidence which is brought for the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius. . . ."

It may be well to finish these quotations from this great writer with a short but pregnant one. "Where you see prejudice, there, indeed, it is no use to argue." (p. 313.)

JOHN THE DEACON.

As there are five historians known under this name it may please the reader to have them mentioned and distinguished:

John the Deacon of Verona, a general chronicler up to year 1310.

" " " " Venice, a chronicler of Venice, flourished around 1000.

" " " " Rome, describes the Lateran church about 1170.

" " " " " biographer of Gregory the Great, died about 882.

" " " " Naples, a continuator of the lives of the Neapolitan Bishops from 762 to 872. He also wrote the Translations of several saints and especially of St. Sosius in which much is written about St. Januarius. He was deacon of S. Gennarello whence his cognomen. (Falcone, op. cit. p. 169.) But S. Gennarello here must mean St. Januarius *all 'Olmo*. See p. 47.

Peter the Notary as he is styled in some documents is probably the same as Peter the Deacon of Naples

who was a candidate for the see after the death of Bishop Fortunatus in 600.

LIQUEFYING BLOODS.

The blood of St. Januarius is not the only saint's blood which liquefies. According to authorities whose word there is no reason to doubt, the blood of St. Patrice, of St. Stephen, of St. Pantaleone, of St. John the Baptist, of St. Philomena, of St. Alphonsus Liguori, etc. liquefy on their respective feast days or when their votive masses are said or under other conditions. What is still stranger, some of these bloods maintain a certain correspondence with the stages of the liquefaction of that of St. Januarius. Slow when it is slow, quick when quick and in part when in part. Thus Putignano asserts (*De redivivo sanguine S. Januarii, Napoli,* 1723–5, page 91, 92) that one Dec. 16th, when St. Januarius's liquefied only in part, so likewise did St. Stephen's act on the same way on his feast day, Dec. 26.

Whether this correspondence extends still farther is not known and probably no investigation was ever made but Postel (Le Miracle de Saint Janvier, 1857, p. 356) writes that the blood of St. Philomena at Mugnano near Naples undergoes wonderful variations as to color, form and volume which cannot be explained, and at Tivoli near Rome the blood of St. Laurence manifests peculiar qualities. In connection with this subject an extract from a letter dated Madrid, Jan. 20, 1908, may be of interest:

"At the Monastery of the Incarnation, a house of Augustinian Nuns, plaza de la Encarnacion, not far from the Royal Palace, there is preserved a small

phial containing the blood of St. Pantaleone, martyr, and every year on his feast day, July 27th, from first vespers on the evening before until sunset on the 27th, the blood liquefies marvellously in presence of a great concourse of people. I have interrogated numerous eye-witnesses, trustworthy and deserving of all belief and they have all without exception testified to the reality of this fact." The writer further states that St. Alphonsus Liguori in his work, *Victories of Martyrs* attested he himself had been an eye-witness of the liquefaction of St. Pantaleone's blood at Ravello (near Naples). "This wonderful phenomenon is also visible in a small town *S. Pantaleon* in Old Castile, according to *Las Actas de los Martires — con adiciones de D. Primitivo Fuentes, de la Real Academia de Arqueologia y Geografia* — the same marvellous fact has been verified without fixed date of the blood of St. Alphonsus Liguori at Naples. For this I have the testimony of two of our priests, most trustworthy and my intimate friends." See "Officia pro aliquibus locis" in *Roman Breviary* under July 27.

THE PRAYERS SAID AT THE EXPOSITIONS.

The prayers said by priests and people are generally the Pater, Ave, Credo, Miserere, Athanasian Creed, etc. but la Gente di San Gennaro say some prayers of their own when the relics of the saint are placed upon the altar:

"Iesci e fance grazia, Santo bello, gran campione de Gesu Cristo, Santone nuosto primmo cavaliere de la santa Chiesa, santo e ricco de li done della santissima Trinità, e de l'Immacolata Concezione.— Evviva Giesu, evviva Maria, e chi l'ha criato e fatto santo.—

Santo Martere de la nosta santa Fede, accrisce la nosta santa Fede, e dà lume a chi non crede.— Grazia, Santo bello, Stannardo de la SS. Trinità e de la nosta santa Fede! — Cu Gesù Sarvatore, cu l'Immaculata Concezione e cu lu SS. Sacramento, S. Gennaro, tienece mente.— S. Gennaro miettece sotto lu manto de la Madonna e sotto lu mantiello tuie, e accussi aiutace, defiennece, repareco da ogni disgrazia."

After the reliquary has been exposed and the Creed recited, the following is said:

"Grazie, Stannardo de la santa Fede e de la SS. Trinità, che cu Maria coronata de stelle sempo sta — A la SS. Trinità facimmo tanti ringraziamonti pe stu gran Santo che ce ha dato — Cavaliere de Giesu Cristo, gran Santo, accrisce la nosta santa Fede, e dà lume a chi non crede-Evviva, etc. S. Gennaso, martere de la nosta santa Fede, cu chesta Fede nascimmo, cu chesta Fede vevimmo, pe chesta santa Fede grazia aspettammo.— Oh! guappone de la nosta santa Fede, fa a faccia tosta cu la SS. Trinita, presentele li toie mattirii e fance grazia. Schiarisce' sta faccia e nun la tenè verde." Then come invocations to the Blessed Virgin and repetitions.[82]

From these extracts we see that while some of the expressions are so to say domestic there is nothing to shock anyone. They give thanks and pray that the Faith may spread and for light to those who believe not, etc.

[82] Taglialatela, op. cit., p. 473.

LIST OF SAINTS WHOSE STATUES ARE IN THE TREASURY.[33]

At present there are 51 silver statues of saints carried in procession and all but two of these are Patrons of the city, i.e., St. Candida Sr., and St. Maximus of Cuma. Their statues belong to the Cathedral but are also in the solemn parade and occupy the first place. Then follow these saints in the order here given.

1. St. Michael Archangel. 1691. Date of declaration of patronage.
2. St. Raphael Archangel. 1792.
3. St. Agnellus, Abbot. One of the seven principal patrons, date unknown.
4. St. Lucy. 1903.
5. St. Frances of the Five Wounds, 1901.
6. St. Joachim, 1895.
7. St. Rock. 1856.
8. St. Emidius, 1760.
9. St. Irene, 1760.
10. St. Paschal Baylon, 1845.
11. St. John Joseph of the Cross, 1845.
12. St. Francis Caracciolo, 1843.
13. St. Anne, 1805.
14. St. Francis Hieronymus, 1841.
15. St. Alphonsus Liguori, 1840.
16. St. Vincent Ferrer, 1838.
17. St. Augustine, 1771.
18. St. Aloysius Gonzaga, 1835.
19. St. Mary Magdalen, 1757.
20. St. Ignatius Loyola, 1628.
21. St. Anthony, Abbot, 1707.
22. St. Mary of Egypt, 1699.

[33] Taglialatela — *Vita di S. Gennaro,* Naples, 1904, p. 93.

23. St. Candida, Jr., 1696.
24. St. Francis Borgia, 1695.
25. St. John the Baptist, 1695.
26. St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi, 1692.
27. St. Peter Martyr, 1690.
28. St. Francis of Assisi, 1691.
29. St. Biagio B. of Sebaste, 1690.
30. St. Joseph, 1690.
31. St. Clare, 1689
32. St. Gregory of Armenia, 1676.
33. St. Nicholas of Bari, 1628.
34. St. Cajetan, 1628.
35. St. Philip Neri, 1628.
36. St. Anthony of Padua, 1628.
37. St. Theresa, 1664.
38. St. Francis Xavier, 1628.
39. St. James de la Marca, 1649.
40. St. Dominic, 1641.
41. St. Frances of Paula, 1625.
42. St. Andrew Avellino, 1625.
43. St. Patrice, 1625.
44. St. Thomas Aquinas, 1605.
45. St. Athanasius B. of Naples.
46. St. Severo B. of Naples.
47. St. Eusebius B. of Naples.
48. St. Agrippino B. of Naples.
49. St. Aspreno B. of Naples.

These five last are among the Seven Principal Patrons.

THE STONE IN THE MARTYR'S CHURCH AT THE SOLFATARA.

There has been mentioned a stone at page 62 preserved in the Church of St. Januarius which stands

over the place of his first burial. This stone is in a chapel and is kept in a niche on the right hand side of the altar. The niche is about three feet from the ground and the wall in which it is does not form a part of the church wall as there is a passageway behind it. The stone which stands upright is hollowed out like a basin, the internal dimensions of which are, length about 18 inches, width about 14 and the depth about 7 inches. There are some stains upon it of a reddish color and some of these are so disposed as to form a rough triangle, having a larger stain in its centre. This stone is an object of veneration especially on Sept. 19 and the Saturday preceding the first Sunday in May, because according to tradition the blood of the Saint flowed on it during his martyrdom, a portion of which is now in the celebrated phial.

Having learned from good authority that phenomena worthy of study occurred about this stone, observations were made for some days before the 19th of Sept. and on the day itself. On 19th of Sept. 1902, two professors went out early to the church provided with thermometers and with cardboard upon which were painted over fifty shades of red ranging from a mere suspicion of color to a deep, dark one. The object of these was to make sure that the changes in color of the spots upon the stone would not be only in imagination as it is very easy to deceive oneself in such matters. No candles were lighted. The doors of the niche were opened, one of wood, the other of glass and a thermometer placed within touching the stone and another upon the adjacent altar. In the space of an hour a difference in temperature was observed varying from 1° C. to 1°, 5, the niche being that much lower. From time to time the stains and the tints were com-

pared and a decided change was noticed and many other stains not visible at first became so. At the end of the hour some drops of liquid appeared upon the stone and they kept on increasing even after the glass door was closed showing they were not the results of vapor in the church. Within half an hour more the whole stone appeared as if it had been immersed in water. It is to be remarked that this phenomenon was a real one, that the difference in temperature would not account for it and that it was not repeated on the other days of the octave. Thus far went Professor Sperindeo's experiments and until he makes some more he withholds a definite judgment upon the matter.[34]

[34] Op. cit. *Appendice.*

Date Due

6450